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'BRUG-PA KUN-LEGS, THE SAINTLY TIBETAN MADMAN

by

JOHN ALBERT ARDUSSI

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(Chairman of Supervisory Committee)

Department Asian Languages & Literature
(Departmental Faculty sponsoring candidate)

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Master's Thesis

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PREFACE

When the first comprehensive history of Tibetan popular literature comes to be written in a Western language, there can be little doubt that a prominent place will be assigned to the 'Brug-pa mendicant bard Kun-dga' legs-pa, known otherwise by his nickname 'Brug-smyon, the "Mad 'Brug-pa." Like the celebrated A-khu Ston-pa, he is known to the majority of Tibetans as the protagonist of a series of bawdy, and occasionally scatological, stories and humorous episodes. Yet he is also one of the foremost examples of that curious class of Tibetan holy men referred to as "crazy," or "mad" (smyon-pa). The best of such individuals could combine the most slovenly and quixotic social behavior with the deepest religious insight. Such was the respect that his own sect had for him that Padma-dkar-po, the greatest scholar of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa sect, composed a reverential petition (gsol-'debs) to 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, shortly after his death. It began with these lines.

> "Swa-sti!
> Praise to that resplendent grub-thob Kun-dga' legs-pa,
> Born of the Dharma and of that lineage known as 'Brug-pa,
> the unparalleled in glory!
> By touching the dust of the feet of that holy man,
> The mind becomes satisfied by a matchless feast of religious
> teaching.
> Praise to him who has put on the garment of collected merit,
> For the purpose of cultivating the goals of others, he who
> has power over glory and skill!"[1]

Yet, in spite of his fame and reputation among Tibetans, he has scarcely been mentioned in Western literature on Tibet. Sarat Chandra Das recounted one tale of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, told to him at Rgyal-rtse in 1882.[2] 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was briefly mentioned by Sir Charles Bell, who wrongly referred to him as "a Bhutanese priest."[3] Until the recent studies of R. A. Stein, however, few authors seem to have even been aware of his name. This may largely be accounted for by the fact that his four-volume gsung-'bum, or "Collected Works," is very scarce. It must have been so even a century ago, as his autobiography (volume one of the gsung-'bum) is listed in the Tho-yig of A-khu Rin-po-che, a mid-nineteenth century list of "books which were already rare or of extraordinary value in the Tibetan world."[4]

We are indebted to R. A. Stein for having finally introduced this unique individual to the Western world, at the same time laying a solid foundation for future research into the works of the other religious madmen of Tibet. For more than fifteen years his books and articles on the folk traditions and music of Tibet have referred to 'Brug-pa Kun-legs in passing, occasionally translating short passages of songs composed by him. Now, with the publication in the early spring of 1972 of Stein's complete translation of part one of the "Collected Works", we can enjoy the fruits of these years of effort.[5] Considering the tremendous difficulties of the Tibetan text, his translation deserves close study as a model for future work in this type of literature.

The present thesis was undertaken and virtually completed before the publication of Professor Stein's book, and I was therefore unable to make use of it except in footnotes and in portions of the following introductory material. This thesis is a study and translation of approximately half of part two (Kha) of the "Collected Works", with appropriate introductory analysis and a comparison of the life and writing styles of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Mi-la-ras-pa, and other individuals participating in the tradition of the Tibetan "madman." In some respects my own research has parallelled that of Stein. Thus, for example, the Genealogical Chart of the Bar and lho subsects of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa Sect, which is included at the end of Part III of this thesis, is largely identical to the chart constructed by him and included in his latest work.[6] But this is as it should be, since our information was extracted from the same sources. On the other hand, in comparing, after the fact, his translation with that of my own, there can be no question that he still remains the master of this style of literature. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's writing style is unusually difficult, making full use of the most profound Tantric terminology and the most colloquial patois, often in a single sentence. There are frequent and abrupt changes in speaker, more often unmarked than not. In addition, his use of regional slang and interjections makes literal translation nearly impossible in many instances. The standard available dictionaries virtually ignore such lexical items, and I have had to tax the patience of a number of Tibetan informants to obtain reasonable definitions. Even the best of them often resorted to guesswork. I suspect that Stein understates the case when he says that "La langue et le style de l'ouvrage sont suffisamment difficiles et particuliers pour que l'effort puisse être profitable non seulement aux étudiants, mais même peut-être à beaucoup de tibétisants expérimentés."[7]

In addition to my reliance on the previously published studies of Stein, I have gained immeasureably from reading various parts of the text with a number of Tibetan informants. In particular, I spent several months reading the text in minute detail with the Sde-gzhung lung-rigs-sprul-sku Kun-dga'-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma, tutor to the Sa-skya Bdag-chen rin-po-che, residing in Seattle. As he, however, is planning to wait for his next rebirth to learn English fluently, and as my own grasp of spoken Tibetan is not what it could be, I am afriad that there still remain parts of the text which are not entirely clear to me. For these and any other defects which this thesis may contain I must accept full responsibility. The Dge-bshes Ngag-dbang Nor-nang also donated his time willingly to me, in this project and in others as well. I also benefitted from conversations with 'Jigs-med G.yu-thog and Zur-khang zhabs-pad, former member of the Tibetan Council of Ministers. The latter has made a hobby of studying Tibetan song and poetry, and I regret not having been able to make more use of his talents. In addition to the above, I have also sought out the "gut" reaction of several other Tibetans towards 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, to see how modern Tibetans react instinctively to the mention of his name. Typical was the response of Bstan-'dzin chos-rgyal, the younger brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who was in Seattle in 1971. When the subject was broached, he looked at me with a surprised grin, then said with an enigmatic and reflective smile, "Of course, he was really a great saint."

Finally, I must mention the opportunities I have had to present various parts of this thesis in the form of papers to the Inner Asia Colloquium at the University of Washington, chaired by Professor Turrell Wylie. In addition to having guided me in my studies of Tibet, he was also kind enough to write on my behalf to Professor Stein, to obtain his permission or rjes-gnang, as it were, for my undertaking this project. Professor Wylie has also been more than lenient with me during the rather lengthy time which I needed to complete this thesis, for which I am truly grateful.

FOOTNOTES

1. // swa sti / mnyam med dpal ldan 'brug pa zhes grags pa'i gdung dang chos las 'khrungs pa'i grub thob kun dga' legs pa'i dpal 'byor la phyag 'tshal lo // kun tu dam pa'i zhabs rdul la reg pas // dga' ston mtshungs med chos kyis yid tshim nas // legs tshogs gzhan don sgrub la chas gyur pa'i // dpal yon rnams la dbang 'byor der phyag 'tshal // (Ka 167-a). This verse was written at Ra-lung-thel but is of uncertain date. For a discussion of the dates of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and the printing of the biography, see below, pp. 72-74 . The system of transcription used throughout this thesis is that of T.V. Wylie, "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 22 (December 1959):261-267.

2. Sarat Chandra Das, Journal to Lhasa and Central Tibet (London: John Murray, 1902), pp. 92-94.

3. Sir Charles Bell, The People of Tibet (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 137.

4. Lokesh Chandra, Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, pt. 3 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1963), p. 9. The autobiography is cited as number 10995.

5. R.A. Stein, trans., Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le yogin (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1972).

6. Ibid., facing p. 10.

7. Ibid., p. 30.

Part I

The Life of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and his Place in Tibetan Buddhist Tradition

Chapter 1:

A Survey of His Life and Sources Dealing with Him

The four-volume biography and collected pronouncements of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, published at Dri'u-lhas,[1] is somewhat atypical of the rnam-thar or biographical genre of Tibetan literature. It is probably the work of more than one editor, and part one or Ka[2] is by itself occasionally referred to as the "autobiography," due to the fact that it represents itself as being written in the first person, and also because of the fact that it contains a post-face wherein 'Brug-pa Kun-legs summarizes the events of his life and hints at the reasons for his having written it.[3] In fact, however, it contains very little in the way of genuine biographical data. Both volumes Ka and Kha give more the appearance of a diary, divided into many episodes beginning with a phrase such as "On one occasion, I went to...", and ending with a phrase such as "...thus I said, and I went on my way." We are never given specific dates for events, and it is highly doubtful if we can accept that the various events took place in the order in which they occur in the text. Nevertheless, on the basis of the first few folia of volume Ka, together with bits of information gathered here and there throughout the four volumes, we can give a brief account of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's life, his family, and his relationship to the abbatial lineage of Ra-lung, the principal seat of the Bar or "Middle" branch of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa sect.[4]

'Brug-pa Kun-legs was born in the region of Skyid-shod, an old term for the lha-sa region.[5] We are not told exactly where his birthplace was, nor the date of his birth, though modern Tibetan works give the Earth-pig year of 1455.[6] It is likely that he was born close to the important monastery of 'Brug, another important seat of the 'Brug-pa sect located in that region.[7]

He was of the Rgya clan, to which also belonged Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras (1161-1211), the founder of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa sect, and we shall see later that he was in fact a descendent of Lha-btsan, one of his brothers. His father was Rin-chen-bzang-po, a nang-so or lay administrator of Ra-lung,[8] and his mother was named Mgon-mo-skyid. He was their eldest son, and besides himself there was a sister and a younger brother. The brother is almost never mentioned in the texts, and of the sister we know little other than the fact that she later became a nun.[9]

'Brug-pa Kun-legs describes his childhood as being happy, and that he was very attached to the vast religious estates of the 'Brug-pa establishment. "When I was little," he says, "it is said that I was a jokester who would mimic the mendicants."[10] But such a pleasurable existence was destined to end, and events occured which were to become an underlying determinant in the direction of his life. This was a difficult period in the history of Central Tibet, and following the virtual collapse of the Phag-mo-gru empire in 1535, many small districts and principalities had sought to follow a course of relative independence. Others sought to vie for influence with the growing power of the princes of Rin-spungs in Gtsang. The family of Rgya, which had controlled the monastery and estates of Ra-lung for nearly three hundred years, was caught in the middle of the difficulties. For though they were of the 'Brug-pa sect and therefore closely associated religiously with the Phag-mo-gru-pa,[11] they found themselves aligned politically and territorially with Rin-spungs. From the time of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's grandfather, Drung-rdor-ba, the family had continued in two lines, and though we have no precise information, it is fairly clear from what he says that there was considerable friction between them. As brother of the abbot or Rgyal-dbang chos-rje of Ra-lung, Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428-1476), Lha'idbang-po was the titular head (gdung-tshab-pa) of the family line. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs says that then he was thirteen, "through the trouble which he stirred up, he caused my father to be killed by a faction from Snel."[12] "I was brought by Bzang-po, the tea-server of Gong-dkar-nas who was the lover of my paternal aunt A-rin-ma, and I became the servant of Kun-tu-bzang-po, the Mi-dbang of the Rin-spungs-pa estates."[13] He remained there in unhappy servitude for six years, after which he decided to leave for Dbus and take up a religious life. "I gave to my elder sister the rosary of fifty pieces of amber which the Sde-pa Kun-tu-bzang-po had given me, and also some excellent turquoise earrings. My good horse I gave to Bzang-po the tea-server, and I set out to travel the country on pilgrimage."[14]

From such an inauspicious beginning, similar in so many ways to that of his spiritual predecessor Mi-la-ras-pa, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs set out on a career of more than fifty years of homeless study and pilgrimage. On many later occasions he was to describe the loss of his father and homeland as a good thing, a necessary prerequisite for one who would lead the life of a yogi.[15] Yet the frequency with which the matter is brought up and the plaintive tone of his song would seem to indicate that he still harbored no small sorrow in his heart. For example, in later years when his mother dies, he returns to 'Brug to console his sister who has by this time become a nun. He gives her several presents, including a mdzo, a cross between a yak (g.yag) and a cow. Then he sings a beautiful song expressive of sorrow with the past and uncertainty about the future, from which I have taken the following three verses.

"The ten-pronged stag was killed,
My mother, the doe, has passed away.
Now the little fawn and his son are destined
  to dwell in the clay mountain ranges.

Wherever we might roam in the meadows high and low,
Protect us from the huntsman, oh lord of this ground!

My golden-eyed and aged father was killed,[16]
My aged mother too has passed away.
Now the little fish and his son are destined
  to dwell in the highland lake.
Wherever we might live within our lake,
See that we meet not the fisherman, oh
  queen of the lake goddesses![17]

My aged father Rin-chen-bzang-po was killed,
My aged mother Mgon-mo-skyid has also passed away.
Now Kun-legs and his son are destined
  to go to Skyog-mo in the Gnams valley.
Wherever we might go within the realm,
Protect us from misfortune, oh protective
  deities of the 'Brug-pa!"[18]

In spite of the plea of the Dbon Rin-po-che of Ra-lung, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs determined to leave the confines of the monasteries of his homeland. He travelled to Spos-skya where he stayed for eight months studying the Hevajra-mūla-tantra. It was during this period of time that he began to express his dislike for study, as opposed to listening to religious instruction from a personal teacher.[19] During the next few years he went to various monasteries, but always with the intention of seeing some noteworthy teacher and receiving personal instruction. Thus, at Rong Brag-dkar chos-sdings he met Bsod-nams mchog-ldan and received his initiation into the teachings of the Mahāmudrā and the Ro-snyoms-skor-drug, a collection of gter-ma teachings discovered by Gtsang-pa Rgyra-ras and which are fundamental scripture for the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa.[20] From Bsod-nams bzang-po he received instruction in another collection of *gter-ma*, the *O-rgyan-bsnyen-sgrub*. At Nying-ro-sman-chu-kha he received ordination and became a *dge-tshul*. It was probably not many years after that that he took his final vows and became a fully ordained monk or *dge-slong*. It was before the Zhwa-lu-rje Mkhyen-rab-pa that he took his *dge-slong* vows, he tells us in a brief note about his early religious training.[21] This fact is confirmed by a short biography of this individual contained in the *Zhwa-lu mkhan-rabs* of Blo-gsal bstan-skyong. His full name was Chos-rje Rin-chen mkhyen-rab-mchog-grub (1436-1497), and although he was not an abbot of Zhwa-lu monastery, he was apparently an important scholar of the period and belonged to the patron family of Sku-zhang. We are told that "since there were scarcely any great scholars at that time who were not his disciples, the story has appeared that even 'Brug-pa Kun-legs at first sought ordination from this lord."[22] It was when he took his *dge-tshul* vows from the Gnas-snying chos-rje that he was given his religious name, the full form of which is Kun-dga' legs-pa'i dpal-'byor bzang-po.[23] At some point during his early career he also received the name Tshe-dbang rgyal-po, by which he refers to himself on occasion.[24]

One of the many curious facts about 'Brug-pa Kun-legs is that, though an ordained monk, he yet had one, and perhaps two wives. The one whom we know by name from this biography was Tshe-dbang-'dzom.[25] It was she who bore him his beloved though occasionally ill-mannered son Zhing-skyong 'brug-grags, and it was undoubtedly the latter who was referred to in the song which we translated above, sung at his mother's death. We may speculate that he was married at an early age, before having taken his final vows. What his married life was like we cannot say, for his wife is rarely mentioned in the entire four volume *gsung-'bum*, but from the few references which we have, she would appear to have been somewhat of a nag who could not quite fully understand his motives either as a father or a holy man. Once she criticised him for turning their son into a hooligan (*skyag-lad*). Why don't you correct him, she asks. "Great cries of friendly advice are the essence of enmity," he replies.[26] To scold him, he concludes, would do nothing but cause trouble and argument. On another occasion she chides him for not following the example of most other teachers. "Other *bla-mas* say, 'Let the rich give offerings; treat the aged with love!' But *chos-rje* Kun-legs-pa says, 'Let the rich not make offerings; let the hungry eat whatever they can find; do not treat the aged with love!' It will be difficult for (people) in later times to grasp your idea." He replies with that curious logic of the contrary individual that, in general, it is sufficient merely to tell someone what he should or shouldn't do to have that person do just the opposite.[27]

The problem of whether or not he had a second wife is a difficult one. Our best sources of information on this matter are the "History of Bhutan" or *lho'i chos-'byung* of Bstan-'dzin chos-rgyal, published in Bhutan in 1759,[28] and another biography of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs written by a certain Ke'u-tshang of Kun-gling monastery and published in 1786. As I have not seen the latter, I must rely on the information provided by Stein.[29] Another source which I have not seen is a biography of his grandson Mi-pham Tshe-dbang bstan-'dzin.[30] The information which Stein provides us about this text compares favorably with what we learn in the following passage from the *lho'i chos-'byung*. "The great *grub-thob* 'Brug-pa Kun-dga' legs-pa went to the southern ranges for the benefit of other sentient beings. In an icy wilderness in the upper regions of Thed, he took a woman named

Nor-bu-'dzom, who had the marks of a *mkha'-'gro-ma*, as his *mudrā*. Out of their (union) was born Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin, the rebirth of Gsang-bdag-gar-ston, the son of Pha-jo."[31] There is no real reason not to accept this information as basically factual. Nor-bu-'dzom was probably one of his various Tantric consorts, and not a wife in the strict sense of the word. Stein, however, has sought to find in the four volume Dri'u-lhas biography certain hints of his possibly having a second wife. Thus, interpreting 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's reference to Tshe-dbang-'dzom as *yum chen* to mean "femme principale", or principal wife, he concludes that this implies the existence of another.[32] But *yum chen* almost certainly does not mean "principal wife." The recent Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary of L. S. Dagyab defines the term as "the highest honorific term for mother." This conforms with Western custom where parents often refer to each other as father and mother, that is with respect to their children.[33] The term is also used by Tibetans to refer to the major goddesses, principally Sgrol-ma or Tārā. Thus, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs himself, at the request of Dbus smyon-pa, sings a song of praise to Sgrol-ma wherein he refers to her as *yum chen*.[34] Perhaps better evidence will turn up in the future, but for the present we shall have to suspend judgement and yield to the full weight of Bhutanese tradition which places him as the sire of a long family of influential religious figures, including some of the most important in the history of the country. The Genealogical Chart included below traces this lineage as far as Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin rab-rgyas (1638-1698).

In addition to his family descent in Bhutan, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was also the head of a series of recognized rebirths, probably with their seat at Dri'u-lhas. One of these was a certain Rdo-rje, the editor of volumes *Ka*, *Kha*, and *Ga* of our collection. "When I myself was very young," he says, "whether compelled by a deity or a demon, I spoke various childish prattlings, and behaved in various and incongruous ways. As a result, even as the saying goes that a story told in a mouse hole reaches the limits of the earth, so also the students of that former master heard about it and made various careful investigations. By chance it turned out well, and taking that as proof, even as said in the *Laṅkāvatāra(Sūtra)*,

> 'If you do not give things a name,
> The whole world remains confused;
> Thus, in order to clear away this confusion,
> The Lord (Buddha) gave names,'

I was accordingly lauded as the (re-)birth of that holy man, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs; though how could I have been a rebirth even of his every sin (*kun nyes*), let alone his every goodness (*kun legs*)! I, the Mad Monk of Mon (Mon-ban-smyon-pa), who lived off what I got from those attached to me, in order to nurture kindness from men of the world and men of religion both, and at the urging of my own few disciples as well as that of several men of faith who had been devoted to the *chos-rje*, have brought about this event (of publishing the *gsung-'bum*)."[35] Unfortunately, we possess little information about this line of rebirths. In the biography of Tshe-dbang bstan-'dzin, the grandson of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, mention is made of a certain Grub-thob rin-po-che as being an incarnation of him.[36] Stein also cites a supplement to the autobiography of Padma-dkar-po, wherein is mentioned Grub-thob rin-po-che as the incarnation of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, in 1591.[37] Finally, E. Gene Smith has recently written that "The incarnations of this famed madman were to be found until 1959 at the Dre'u-lhas Monastery in Gñal (Southern Tibet)."[38]

'Brug-pa Kun-legs also considered himself to be a rebirth of the Indian *siddha* Sha-wa-ri, who, as he did, led a hunting dog and carried bow and arrows.[39] The hostess of a certain place where he stayed says that on the one hand he appears to be a ghost ('byung-po), but on the other hand he also appears to be a grub-thob. Which is correct? she asks. Either term is correct, he says, for "it is also true that I am the rebirth of Sha-wa-ri Maheśvara, the great siddha, the teacher of emptiness."[40] Sha-wa-ri, or Shā-bā-ri-pa, was the son of a dance master. With his two sisters he was sent by the great Nāgārjuna to the mountains of Dpal-gi-ri. There, in what would under ordinary circumstances have been considered an incestuous relationship, he took them for his Tantric mkha'-'gro-ma and achieved the level of Vajradhara. He was also known as Sa-ra-ha the younger.[41]

For the better part of his adult life, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs wandered the areas of Southern Tibet and Bhutan, occasionally making trips to Lhasa, Shigatse, Yarlung and other more distant places. The various subsects of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa sect are noted for having produced many great travelling monks and yogis. Thus, during the thirteenth century, the great Rgod-tshang-pa Mgon-po-rdo-rje (1189-1258), founder of the Stod "Upper" branch of the 'Brug-pa sect, journeyed on pilgrimage to the Swat valley, and his disciple U-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1229-1309) followed a nearly similar route several years later.[42] The famous Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan (1452-1507), author of the Biography and Collected Songs of Mi-la-ras-pa, was a contemporary and an acquaintance of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. On two occasions he made trips to Nepal, travelling as far as Mustang. During his later life he assisted in the restorations of Svayambhūnāth.

The end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century was a period of great religious and social change in Tibet. It was also, probably not coincidentally, the period of the greatest flourishing of the tradition of the religious "madmen" or smyon-pa. The three greatest smyon-pa of all time, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Gtsang-smyon-pa, and Dbus-smyon-pa Kun-dga' bzang-po (b.1458), all lived and travelled in roughly the same areas, meeting each other on occasion and exchanging songs. They also shared many of the same teachers, such as the seventh Karma-pa Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454-1506).[43] Both 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and Gtsang-smyon-pa were disciples of the great Rgyal-ba'i dbang-po of Ra-lung, Kun-dga' dpal-'byor.[44] It is often difficult to establish a definite sectarian affiliation of these "madmen." It was the very nature of such men, as indeed of Tantric yogis in general, that they did not adhere to any single set of doctrines, or remain long with one teacher or in one monastery. Thu'u-bkwan III Blo-bzang chos-kyi-nyi-ma (1737-1802) writes that all three of these smyon-pa, "along with several other unusual *grub-thob* " belonged to the *Bar* 'Brug subsect.[45] On the other hand, Padma-dkar-po states that the teaching lineage (*slob-brgyud*) of Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga' dpal-ldan (1408-1475?), an important master and writer of the *Stod* 'Brug subsect, passed through Dbus-smyon-pa.[46]

Though they never participated in the traditional pattern of life expected of Tibetan monks, through their songs and good humor they cultivated friends and acquaintances in high places, including the highest political figures of the time. In his *Gsung-'bum* we possess several letters which 'Brug-pa Kun-legs wrote to such men, including the *Rgyal-dbang* Karma-pa and the Rin-spungs *Sde-pa*.[47] In the selections which we have translated below, there is one episode where he attends the court of the second Dalai Lama Dge-'dun rgya-mtsho and is requested to sing a special song for the new year ceremonies. In his own way, Gtsang-smyon-pa was probably an even more greatly patronized *bla-ma*. Among his many sponsors was that great patron of literary activities the *gong-ma* of Chos-rgyal-lhun-po, Bkra-shis-dar-rgyas, son of Rgyal-ba Bkra-shis.[48] From the description of the *Blue Annals*, it would seem that, through appointment of the Sne'u-gdong *gong-ma*, members of his family had ruled Lho-rgyud since the inception of the Ming Dynasty. From the latter he received the title *'Ja'-sa* and ruled over Bya.[49] Padma-dkar-po says that he ruled over some three thousand families in Lho-rgyud.[50] He is chiefly noted for his patronage of 'Gos lo-tsa-ba in his writing of the *Deb-ther sngon-po* or *Blue Annals*, which was completed in 1478.[51]

The writings of these religious "madmen" seem almost studied in their lack of the usual appendages of scholastic composition. In the colophon to his Biography and Collected Songs of Mi-la-ras-pa, Gtsang-smyon-pa used his secret name Dur-khrod nyul-ba'i rnal-'byor-pa rus-pa'i rgyan-can, "the yogi who wanders in cemeteries, adorned with bones," thereby leading to decades of confusion on the part of Western scholars as to who the real author of these great masterpieces of Tibetan literature was.[52] For his part, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs seems to mock us in his disdain for such trivial details as the accurate dates of events. In a dream, he receives a letter from the paradise of Akaniṣṭha, signed by Rdo-rje-'chang and dated "the fifteenth day of objectless evocation, the month of unrenounced Saṁsāra, the year of renounced sorrow."[53] Thus, as could be anticipated, there is no accurate information given in the biography as to the date of his death. The year 1529 seems to be the one most recently advocated by students of the field, but as I shall explain below, I do not feel that there is any conclusive evidence for this. As to the purpose and meaning of his life, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs sums it up in a charming narrative which concludes volume *Ka* of the collection.

"I fell in love with those songs of Tantric inspiration (*rdo-rje-glu*) born in the inspired minds of the great siddhas of former times. How happy I was to find that none of these songs deceived the true understanding (of reality)! These songs which I have sung, as did Dge-bshes Nyams-bro,[54] such as the *rta* of Kong, the *glu* of the Bon and the *dbyangs*[55] of the Tantrics, which are comparable in nature, are a burst of laughter in this lifetime. They also contain the true meaning (of the Dharma) for the (people of the) future. However, it is true that in this lifetime I have not done much in the way of listening, contemplating or study. Yet, through many eons in the past I have performed work for many Buddhas, and I have internalized many of the verbal meanings of the absolute truth. With the words of essential meaning from many learned teachers I have in turn liberated the difficulties (for the understanding) of many teachings. In the *saṁbhoga-cakra* of my neck I have produced the voice of Mi-la-ras-pa.[56] I have perfected my skills in love and compassion. I have understood that in essence all dharmas have no coming into being or cessation. Out of the mixture of good and bad facets of my behaviour, I have adhered mostly to the bad. Many forceful protective deities have joined around me in my attempts to seek food and clothes from patrons, no matter the amount of their wealth or faith. I have been blessed by Rdo-rje-phag-mo and Sgrol-ma. By a great and unstudied wisdom I am aware of the wickedness of *saṁsāra*. I was saddened by the jealousies of my father's family, so I became the beloved child of the faithful from every region. Like a dust storm in the sky, I have ranged about widely with no fixed place. I maintained that undirected behaviour, happy and joyful even that the sun should shine at all, be it only through a chink in the doorway, such that none could say that this great person says this or that, that he does this or that. Thus, I gave up deceiving sentient beings, 'doing things but not through obligation.' It was just in accordance with this statement; my behaviour, which had nothing firm of which one could be greedy, was hilariously joyful. Though I knew them, others perceived not my faults and good qualities, so without any sense of self-aggrandizement I explained them to my beloved son."[57]

It was his son, in fact, who became caretaker of his funerary relics. These included his skullcap filled with the nectar (bdud-rtsi) of his brains, and his right foot which had been touched earlier by a five-colored rainbow as a sign of his approaching death. These and many others were gathered up by Zhing-skyong 'brug-grags and taken to Stod-lung Lam-'phar monastery where they were put into a silver reliquary.[58] To men of good faith and karma, Zhing-skyong 'brug-grags would grant an audience with these relics, leading them through a secret door.[59] On the Ma River near Punakha in Bhutan, there is a small monastery devoted to 'Brug-pa Kun-legs named Khyi-'bur lha-khang or Khyi-med lha-khang. This was visited by Michel Peissel in 1968 and according to his account, it contained a statue of him along with some of the relics, including his preserved penis.[60] Stein has published a photograph of this statue which he obtained from Peissel.[61]

Before passing on to an analysis of the various minor sources dealing with or bearing on the life of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, it would be well to examine briefly the history and development of the 'Brug-pa sect, with particular emphasis on the Bar branch to which he belonged. Not only was this sect large and influential in Tibet, but its evolution was in many ways typical of Tibetan religious sects in general. The accompanying Genealogical Chart gives as many of the particulars as I have been able to trace.[62] The 'Brug-pa sect was one of many which traced its lineage back to the great disciple of Sgam-po-pa, Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110-1170). His disciple was Gling-ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje (1128-1188) and his chief disciple was Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras Ye-shes-rdo-rje (1161-1211), the founder of the 'Brug-pa sect. In accordance with various prophecies, Rgya-ras founded the monasteries of Klong-rdol, Ra-lung, and 'Brug. While work was beginning on the latter, the voice of a dragon ('brug) was heard to cry out, and the monastery and the sect were therefore named 'Brug.[63] He studied the teachings of many schools, including Bka'-gdams-pa and Rdzogs-chen,[64] and this may have provided the impetus for the religious eclecticism which came to be characteristic of the 'Brug-pa sect as a whole, and for the 'Brug-pa "madmen" in particular. Thus, for example, the Ro-snyoms-skor-drug, its most important collection of Tantric techniques, was discovered by Rgya-ras as a gter-ma or treasure, supposedly hidden by Ras-chung-pa.[65] Under Rgya-ras, the growth in fame and membership in the sect was notorious. "The disciples in his lineage came to extend as far as an eagle (could fly) in eighteen days travel. So it became known to everyone, like the wind, that 'half the people are 'Brug-pa, half of the 'Brug-pa are beggars, and half of the beggars are grub-thob."[66] So said Thu'u-bkwan III Blo-bzang chos-kyi-nyi-ma, repeating a sentiment expressed earlier by Padma-dkar-po.[67] His two chief disciples were Rgyal-ba Lo-ras-pa (1187-1250) and Rgod-tshang-pa Mgon-po-rdo-rje (1189-1258), the founders, respectively, of the "Lower" (Smad) and the "Upper" (Stod) branches of the 'Brug-pa sect. But it was to his own nephew Sangs-rgyas-dbon, also called Dbon-ras Dharma-seng-ge (1177-1237), that he passed on the abbatial seat of Ra-lung. Shortly after the death of Rgya-ras, a Rnying-ma-pa from Khams named Thar-pa rgyal-mtshan came to Ra-lung. Converted to the 'Brug-pa sect, he was given the new name Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po and was sent by Sangs-rgyas-dbon to begin the religious conversion of Bhutan to Buddhism. He died there at the age of 68, having achieved considerable success in his efforts.[68] It was his son Gsang-bdag gar-ston who was later to be reborn as the son of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin.

Thus the branch of the sect which centered around Ra-lung and 'Brug came to be referred to as the Bar 'Brug. For three generations after Rgya-ras, the abbatial lineage followed the "uncle-nephew" (khu-dbon) pattern typical of many Tibetan sects, where the eldest son of the brother of the abbot is trained to become the new abbot and remain celibate. Another son would marry and provide sons for a further generation. The fifth abbot, Seng-ge rin-chen (1258-1313), the founder of Spos-skya monastery, had no nephews,[69] and we are told that "it became necessary for him to perform the ritual of producing a son upon a Shangs woman."[70] During the next four generations, the abbatial seat passed from father to son, and this may account for the growth in political and religious power of the family, which now had also to assume the role of lay administration. The sixth abbot, Seng-ge rgyal-po (1289-1326), is said to have become the religious guide (mchod-gnas) of the last Mongol emperor of China, Thog-gan the-mur.[71] He was given a certificate of control over 1,900 households. His son 'Jam-dbyangs Kun-dga' seng-ge (1314-1347) is described as a great student of Tantric literature and the recipient of a great quantity of gifts from the Mongol princes Ye-sun-tha-mur and The-mur-sbo-kha.[72] The writings of him and his father were bound in gold. Thus it would seem that this was rather the Golden Age for the early history of the Bar 'Brug sect. But with the fall of the Mongol Yüan Dynasty in 1368, the monastic corporation entered a period of uncertainty and discord. Kun-dga' seng-ge died young, when his son was barely two years old, and a struggle developed for control of Ra-lung. Though the son, Blo-gros seng-ge (1345-1390) eventually won out, we are told that because of the great harm which befell the gdan-sa or abbatial seat, virtually all the monastic properties were lost at that time.[73] After the death of his son Shes-rab seng-ge (1371-1392), the ninth abbot, the transmission of the seat becomes confusing. The next person to be specifically mentioned by Padma-dkar-po as having become abbot was the great Rgyal-ba'i dbang-po Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428-1476). The chart constructed by Stein shows the lineage passing from Shes-rab seng-ge to his brother Ye-shes rin-chen (1364-1415), then to the latter's son Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang (1398-1425), to his brother Shes-rab bzang-po (1400-1438), and then to his son Kun-dga' dpal-'byor.[74] The *Mkas-pa'i dga'-ston* of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba 'dzin-pa does not mention Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang as abbot,[75] whereas both he and Ye-shes rin-chen are mentioned as abbots in the *Blue Annals*.[76] Part of the problem may have to do with the character of Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang, whose unusual activities earned him the nickname Ra-smyon, the "Madman of Ra-lung." Padma dkar-po says that "He had no fixed place of residence. He was a hunter. Because the people inhabiting the area cursed him, he brought back to life the animals which he had killed."[77]

With Rgyal-ba'i dbang-po Kun-dga' dpal-'byor we enter into the last phase of the development of the Bar 'Brug sect. From him derived a series of incarnations which is still in existence, referred to as Rgyal-dbang 'Brug-chen. The present incarnate, 'Jigs-med-dbang-gi-rdo-rje, was born in 1963.[78] Significantly enough, the first rebirth was 'Jam-dbyangs chos-kyi-grags-pa (1478-1523), the son by a second wife of the powerful *gong-ma* of Bya and Lho-rgyud, Bkra-shis dar-rgyas, whom we have mentioned above. The 'Brug establishment did not unanimously support this choice, and instead invested a member of the Rgya family line, Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal (1463-1538), a second cousin of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. The dissention was probably molified somewhat by the fact that the second rebirth, Padma-dkar-po (1527-1592), turned out to be what later historians called the greatest scholar and man of letters since Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras himself.[79] With his death, however, the struggle between the rebirth and the Rgya family line reappeared. The Rgya faction of Ra-lung supported Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1594-1651). Another group supported a candidate from 'Phyongs-rgyas named Dpag-bsam-dbang-po

(1593-1641). The split remained irreconciliable and both individuals were ultimately recognized as the genuine rebirth by their respective supporters. Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal, however, was forced to flee Ra-lung, and in 1616, in the company of his supporters, he went to Bhutan where he was entitled the first Zhabs-drung rin-po-che. The Lho'i chos-'byung tells us that, among those accompanying him from Tibet, was Tshe-dbang bstan-'dzin (1574-1643), the grandson of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs.[80] It was from this split that the terms Lho (Southern) 'Brug and Byang (Northern) 'Brug derived, the Bhutanese establishment being known as Lho 'Brug.

As can be seen from the above discussion and the Genealogical Chart below, that branch of the family to which 'Brug-pa Kun-legs belonged, deriving from Drung-rdor-ba, the third son of Ye-shes rin-chen, played virtually no role in the struggle for control of the sect. Though his father is called a nang-so or lay administrator, we have no idea just what his official position was. The insignificance of this branch of the family is perhaps indicated by the fact that neither Drung-rdor-ba nor Rin-chen-bzang-po were recognized as being rebirths, as the custom was for individuals of any importance. Even Ra-smyon the hunter was recognized as a rebirth of Phyag-na-rdo-rje.[81] The result of this is that even the minor sources of information, on which we might otherwise depend, simply do not give us any details about this family. The more recent histories merely repeat what was already written in earlier sources. Thus, for example, the recent Chos 'byung kun gsal me long of Dpal-ldan tshul-khrims, while mentioning the two brothers of Drung-rdor-ba, Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang and Shes-rab bzang-po, is silent about Drung-rdor-ba himself.[82] More disappointing is the lack of any biography of him in the Bar 'Brug Bka'-brgyud gser-'phreng, a collection of biographies of eminent masters in the lineage.[83] Other sources may turn up in the future as more

Tibetan works become reprinted or otherwise available, but for the present we are left with relatively little to work with.[84] One important source on 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and his lineage are the oral stories about him which modern Tibetans are still fond of relating. From the small collection of these which I have made, it would appear that most are not contained in the four volume Dri'u-lhas collection with which we are dealing. Occasionally such collections are copied for private distribution, and Stein has been able to consult one which was obtained by David Ruegg.[85] These oral stories tend more to be of the type which Tibetans call btsog-gtam or "dirty stories," which is probably due to decades of continued elaboration.

Chapter 2

The Tradition of Religious Madness in Tibet

Religious madness seems to be one of the universal phenomena in human culture, and its characteristics are markedly similar from one civilization to another. Ideally it should be studied from a wide range of viewpoints, including the anthropological, sociological and literary. It is necessary to determine as precisely as possible what is meant when in a given cultural context an individual or group of individuals is labeled "mad", or by similar terms. Whereas in the West psychology has skilfully constructed a sizeable vocabulary of emotionally neutral terms to refer to specific types or combinations of abnormal behavior, traditional societies such as the Tibetan are usually limited to the use of only a few such words, with the result that they are used to refer to behavior ranging from the merely quixotic to the most severely sociopathic. The Tibetan word *smyon-pa* is one such term. It is almost exclusively used in the sense of "mad", "crazy", or "insane", with particular emphasis upon the worst connotations of the latter word. The verb *smyo-ba* to which it is related may also be used in that sense, but is more commonly used in the sense of derangement through intoxicztion, whether through liquor, drugs, or of the physical senses, e.g., "maddened with thirst." In the *Bka'-babs-bdun-ldan*, a collection of short biographies of the eighty-five great *mahāsiddhas* of India, Tāranātha says that after Kāṅha had unknowingly had intercourse with his own mother, "he became thirsty and, drinking out of a small pot, he became intoxicated (*myos-pa*). Becoming angry he threw the pot down, which hit a cow and killed it."[86] In another story in the same collection, a king feigns drunkeness and confusion (*myos.shig mgo 'khor ba*).[87] When the term *smyon-pa* is used in Tibetan books, the exact sense is often ambiguous, even as the English word "mad". A man once asked Mi-la-ras-pa what the meaning was of the staff that he always carried with him. As such staffs often had many religious items attached to them the question was not foolish. "Whether it be for some children's game, or else a sort of madman's implement, I am certain it must have some meaning. Please reveal it to me."[88] In this case we may speculate that the man had in mind one of that large group of Tantric yogis who would wander about the country in strange clothes, performing "miracles" and cures, often becoming violent in their behavior. Whether such individuals were truly insane or not, their obnoxious and often dangerous behavior gave the Tibetan yogi a bad reputation among the peasants. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was often accused of being such a person, but we shall see later that he severely condemned such behavior because it was a sham, an act put on to collect money and other alms. The term smyon-pa is also commonly used in Tibet to apply to persons who tempt fate, defy the powerful local spirits, or otherwise openly invite disaster by breaking sacred traditions. The relationship between men and local spirits is a relationship of power. Padmasaṁbhava was able to subdue a great number of such local deities in Tibet because of his great magico-religious power. The Tibetan Buddhist Canon and the gter-ma texts are filled with rituals for achieving the same end, but these are to be used only by highly trained men, whose own stock of power has been systematically built up through years of practice in evocations. For an untrained person or youth to deliberately oppose these local deities would be regarded as indeed "mad" to the popular mind. We can understand, then, why Thang-stong rgyal-po's father called him "mad" (smyon-pa) when he deliberately sought to destroy such a spirit of 'Tshang-lu, when it had become offended and sent a plague to his region which killed many people, including his own sister and brother, 'Phan-po-lnga-dar. He told the villagers to perform certain *gtor-ma*, or offering rituals, but "his father and all the other villagers said, 'He's acting like a madman!' and didn't perform any of the *gtor-ma* whatsoever. But his mother believed what he said to be true, and because she applied herself vigorously to the religious undertaking, the epidemic was totally wiped out."[89]

From the medical point of view, much of what Tibetans know or believe about madness is based on translations of Indian textbooks on medicine and Āyurveda. For *Unmādaḥ*, a type of harmful spirit, the *Mahāvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit-Tibetan lexical treatise of the eighth century, gives *smyo-byed*,[90] and the Tibetan *Bstan-'gyur* contains a text on the removal of such madness-causing demons.[91] It was probably from India that Tibetans learned to divide *smyon-pa* into various cognitive and pathogenic categories. Thus we have *grib-smyo-ba* for "pollution", *rtsa-smyo-ba* or "vein madness", and *rlung-smyo-ba* or "wind madness."[92] Mi-'gyur rdo-rje (18th century) recovered a *gter-ma* text hidden by Padmasaṁbhava which contains a ritual for averting a predicted future plague of madness (*smyo-ba*) and lapses into unconsciousness (*'bog*).[93] But Tibetans also recognize another form of *smyon-pa* which is neither demonic nor biological in origin, and which cannot be traced to any specific Indian model. This is called "religious madness" or *chos-smyo-ba*, and a person thus afflicted is called a *chos-smyon-pa*. The alleged cause of this madness is said to be failure in meditation. As we noted above, Tantric evocations involve considerable intercourse with and manipulation of various extremely powerful deities, and if mistakes are made in this mental process and the practitioner's mind is not powerful enough to handle the difficulties, *chos-smyo-ba* can result. This was undoubtedly what Mi-la-ras-pa had in mind when he described the greatest pitfall of a yogi as being that of "falling astray among the mad."[93] I have no doubt that the *chos-smyon-pa* was a common sight in the towns and villages of Tibet. Such persons are found even today in the Tibetan resettlement camps in India.[94] They often accost persons, both verbally and physically, and try to engage them in debate, and admonish them for their sins or ignorance of the doctrine. Though extremely difficult to get along with, they could prove to be formidable in debate because of their scholastic training. It is said that once when Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras was in a state of mystical trance he began to sing and dance, and that the people who saw him said that he was a *chos-smyon-pa*.[95] Their reversal of the socially prescribed behavior for religious men should be seen as pathological and involuntary, and *chos-smyon-pa* could be found in monasteries as well as in the rural village. The "madness" of the great "madmen" with whom we are dealing, however, such as 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, presupposes the existence in Tibetan society of a cultural model which ascribes saintliness to individuals who actively seek a reversal of normative or prescriptive behavior for the related purposes of demonstrating an accumulation of power over their supernatural environment, and the achievement of salvation for themselves and all other sentient beings. In the Tantric milieu these two goals go hand in hand, for the success of the second is based upon success in the first. In the case of Thang-stong-rgyal-po above, he was called mad through lack of belief in his achievement of the first goal. Once his success was demonstrated, and his vows to put his power to use for the second were articulated, he again earned the epithet "mad," but this time carrying the connotation of high saintliness. According to this cultural model, *smyon-pa* is a term applied to such individuals whose spiritual and contemplative power is demonstrably of the highest order and whose goals are pure, with the result that they are believed to be beyond mere human notions of good and bad, permitted and prohibited. For a variety of reasons, such individuals tended to be of the errant or solitary yogi type, rather than the ordained monk living in a monastic environment, though they would almost certainly have been such at one time in their earlier careers. This is true because life in a large monastery is highly complex, requiring considerable obligations and participation in communal chores. Even though the saintly *smyon-pa* might justify his contrary behavior by saying that the ordinary Vinaya rules did not apply to him, his activities could still prove detrimental to the establishment as a whole, by encouraging the other, ordinary monks, to take their religious vows less seriously. As this could jeopardize their chances for salvation, the *smyon-pa* would be hurting his stated purpose of working for the salvation of all sentient beings. Such an event occured in the youth of Gtsang-pa He-ru-ka, for example, and led to his leaving the monastery for a life of pilgrimage and meditation. In a dream he had visions of Rdo-rje Bdag-med-ma and her retinue of fifteen goddesses. He himself appeared as Dgyes-pa rdo-rje (Skt. Hevajra) and, contemplating himself joined with each of them in turn, he derived intoxicating experiences of body, speech and mind. The vision convinced him that he was to become a Tantric master of the highest order. Shortly thereafter he began to prattle (*co-lo smras-pa*) and laugh aloud (*gzhad rgad du mdzad pa*) at important people. At a great gathering of the monks, at which the princes of Rgyal-rtse and other nobles were in attendance, he appeared with his skullcap bowl and thigh-bone trumpet, mixing up his food in the skull and dishing it out with the trumpet. All the monks began to laugh out loud, and he was severely reprimanded by the beadle (*chos-khrims-pa*). The princes commented on the lack of discipline in the monastery and Gtsang-smyon-pa was forced to leave.[96]

The high acclaim paid to the most notable of the saintly *smyon-pa* inspired many to imitate them for monetary reasons. Such individuals were constantly criticized by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. Once he was asked to explain the meaning of *Ro-snyoms-skor-drug*, and whether the phrase *ro-snyoms* (literally, "uniformity of flavor") was to be taken literally. "If you speak of *ro-snyoms*," he said, "then (what I said above) is what is entailed. Eating a mixture of defecation and urine, enjoying the garments of corpses and feasting on human flesh, (in short) adopting the various and sundry activities of a madman, accept that not as the obligation of *ro-snyoms*!"[97] On a number of occasions he described the behavior of such false madmen as being that of playing tricks (*zog*) and jokes (*tho-co*).[98]

The behavioral typology of the saintly madmen, as we shall refer to them hereafter, requires some elaboration in order to help distinguish them from madmen of the pathological variety. There are several characteristics which seem to be typical of the majority of saintly madmen, though the very nature of their special "affliction" precludes overgeneralization.

1. At least a nominal affiliation with one branch or another of the Dwags-po Bka'-brgyud-pa sect.[99] In the case of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Gtsang-smyon-pa, Ra-smyon-pa and others, it was with the 'Brug-pa subsect. We shall see later that it was on the basis of the *Phyag-rgya chen-po* or *Mahāmudrā*, the special doctrine of the Bka'-brgyud-pa, that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs often explained his "madness."

2. A generalized rejection of custom and behavior which society in general and the monastic "establishment" in particular regarded as appropriate for a religiously inclined individual. Saintly madmen shared an inclination for peculiar and unconventional dress, a public disrespect for officials of all kinds, and a disdain for the study of religion through books.[100] They mingled with the people and attempted to propagate their teachings by

setting them to popular tunes.[101] Their public image, however, was in many ways merely a dramatic front. It was often a disguise for a truly sound religious and meditative training. The constantly preached message was that the best of instruction was not to be gained from studying books, or even from one's personal teacher, but rather from one's self, or, what is the same thing, from all phenomenal appearance. "Who or whatever appears becomes my fundamental bla-ma," wrote 'Brug-pa Kun-legs.[102] In a similar vein Mi-la-ras-pa once said,

> "Once one understands all appearance as one's book,
> Time passes and one forgets black-lettered books.
> In fact it is proper to forget their burden-
> some teachings."[103]

Their expressed distaste for books, however, was not entirely serious. Books have their place, but they should never be allowed to interfere with one's contemplative training. Moreover, many books are written merely to earn money and prestige, thinks 'Brug-pa Kun-legs.[104] They cannot be relied upon to contain the truth.

To demonstrate further their public disrespect for conventional morality, the saintly smyon-pa would make liberal use of profanity in their speech and writing. This use of profanity, however, was no doubt carefully calculated to jolt the self-righteous hypocrisy of the religious establishment. The keywords of their teachings were naturalness (rang-byung) and spontaneity (shugs-byung) in behavior. It is in this connection that Mi-la-ras-pa's expressed lack of shame at his own nudity must be understood.

> "Well, my fine young fellow,
> You find shame where there is no shame;
> This penis of mine is a natural thing,
> I know nothing of such artificial shame."[105]

3. An open contempt and disrespect for established authorities, particularly religious. Often this would appear as rather childish mockery, but it had great appeal to the average man for whom it was intended. Song and verse have been a traditional medium in Tibet for criticism of people in high places. Stein quotes the Code of Khri-srong-lde-btsan (r.755-797) where it says that "on ne doit pas montrer de la haine aux savants et traducteurs indiens ou tibétains, même en poèmes."[106] The seventeenth century Tibetan drama Gcung-po Don-yod, "The Younger Brother Don-yod," a favorite production among drama troupes, was composed in part as a piece of religio-political propaganda.[107] The aspect of social protest was an important one in the behavior of the saintly madmen and we shall return to it later. The following tale concerning a smyon-pa named Spa-sgro rab-'byams was related to me by Nawang Nornang and well illustrates the type of out-spoken admonition of high personages with which we are dealing.

> "The fifth Dalai Lama and Spa-sgro rab-'byams frequently had friendly meetings in the former's quarters. On one occasion, Spa-sgro rab-'byams had sat down on a large xylograph with heavy wooden covers. The Dalai Lama told him not to sit there, for fear of damaging the pages, and because it was religiously disrecpectful. So Spa-sgro rab-'byams got up and the two of them went up to the roof of the Potala to look out over Lhasa. When they were about to come down, the Dalai Lama started to go down a staircase leading into a particular room. Spa-sgro rab-'byams told him not to step down onto the floor of the room. The Dalai Lama asked why, and he replied, 'there is a chapel below where monks are praying, and you might harm what is going on there.' The Dalai Lama was embarassed."

'Brug-pa Kun-legs is particularly invidious in his comments on high *bla-ma*s and monks. Once he was staying at an inn where a famous treasure-finder (*gter-bton-pa*) rode up on horseback. Disgusted at the spectacle everyone was making over him, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs sang a rather bawdy and sarcastic song. He concluded with these phrases, "Whenever tasty beer is served even the highest of ordained monks will drink it in secret; when the serving girls approach, even a high *bla-ma* will glance intently beneath her dress."[108] To the protest that people would accuse him of being mad, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs replied that he cared not for what others said, that they always found fault with other people without being able to see their own abberations.[109]

The tradition of saintly madmen may be quite old in Tibet, but as E. Gene Smith has noted, it "is a phenomenon that suddenly seemed to flower during the 15th century, that appeared in an age of fervent religious reform and doctrinal systematization."[110] We know the names of a number of such men from books dating after the arrival of Atiśa in Tibet in 1042. Rgyal-tsha (1118-1195), one of the two founders of the Khro-phu Bka'-brgyud-pa subsect, is said to have obtained the *Gcod* system from Thod-smyon Bsam-'grub, the son of the celebrated yoginī Ma-gcig Lab-sgron.[111] According to the *Blue Annals*, however, Thod-smyon was the grandson of a disciple of hers, also a madman, named Gye-chung glang-lung, who "was able to subdue demons by his blessing."[112] It is said of him that he cured himself of leprosy through meditation, that people would throw yak tails at him which he would wear, and that he ate carrion.[113] The names of a number of madmen occur in the legends about the disciples of Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, who introduced the *Zhi-byed-pa* or *Gcod* teachings into Tibet. Two of these were Smyon-pa Don-ldan and Rgya Smyon-chung,[114] the latter possibly being a different spelling for Gye-chung glang-lung. Sma-ra ser-pa, a disciple of Pha-dam-pa, is said to have bestowed these teachings on his attendant

Smyon-pa Be-re.[115] Another unnamed mendicant (*bya-bral-pa*) living about the time of Mi-la-ras-pa, is said by the *Blue Annals* to have eaten his own excrement, applied it to his own body, to have offered it to certain demons, and in other ways to have imitated insanity (*smyon-spyod-pa*).[116] A certain Lha-sa'i smyon-ma is said to have met Atiśa and told him where some *gter-ma* texts were hidden,[117] although other texts simply refer to her as a *mkha'-'gro-ma*. She is the only female of the *smyon-pa* type about whom I have found any information.[118] Of more recent date, the biography of Dam-chos Pad-dkar (1636-1708), the fourth Rje-mkhan-po of Bhutan, describes an uncle of his who is identified simply as Smyon-pa. He "adhered to a secret manner and, though he behaved as a common person, there arose spontaneously in him the behaviour of a *grub-thob*, and his excellent and beneficial actions earned the praise of great scholars."[119] One of the principal teachers of 'Jam-gling-pa Blo-gros chos-'phel (1665-1727?) was a certain Khams-smyon Dkon-mchog lhun-grub.[120]

Of many such madmen, little is known besides their names. Undoubtedly some of the above-mentioned madmen were not of the saintly *smyon-pa* type, but from the scant information which we possess it is impossible to tell. Though many of the saintly *smyon-pa* are said to have exhibited signs of advanced spirituality from babyhood, this in itself would not be enough evidence for their families to predict their becoming saints of the *smyon-pa* variety. Of Gtsang-smyon-pa it is said that "He would assemble gatherings of children at various places and all of his games involved his performing the actions of a Tantric master: the drawing of *maṇḍala*, performing offerings, leading Tantric feasts, teaching the Dharma, and so forth. Thus, even the ordinary people were astonished and described him as unusual."[121] Another biography of him says that "When he was two years old, he would erect paintings, join his palms at his forehead, and the words 'I bow in praise to Lord Mi-la, I bow in praise to the Glorious Phag-mo-gru-pa, I bow in praise to the victorious Rgod-tshang-pa' would over and over just flow from him."[122] On the other hand, similar childhood activities were described of Dam-chos Pad-dkar, though he never became a *smyon-pa* of any variety. It is written that "All of his boyhood games were of the nature of religious activities. Thus, he would construct *gtor-ma* of excrement and urine and perform rituals with them. On several occasions he imitated the *bla-mas* in bestowing initiations."[123]

The saintly madman best known to the West is Mi-la-ras-pa, though little importance has ever been placed on his own descriptions of himself as mad. Yet he was probably the model on whom the great madmen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries based themselves in great part. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs occasionally suggests that his own songs were based on those of Mi-la-ras-pa,[124] and that his very madness, like that of Mi-la-ras-pa, was a madness of the *Mahāmudrā*.[125] As for Gtsang-smyon-pa, the better part of his scholarly life was devoted to the study and elucidation of his life and songs, the life of his master Mar-pa, and the teachings transmitted by his chief disciple Ras-chung-pa.[126] With the increasing availability of biographies and other texts composed by these saintly madmen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is becoming more and more clear that these texts are intimately related in style, language, and philosophical content with the biography and collected songs of Mi-la-ras-pa, which have been known to the West through translations for a number of years.[127] The definitive study of this phase of the Bka'-brgyud-pa traditions will have to be made only after a careful comparative analysis of all the available texts of this school of writing.

Having traced in brief the typology and verieties of manifestation of "madness" or *smyon-pa* behaviour in Tibet, there remains the final and most difficult problem of attempting to place this phenomenon in its proper historical and philosophical framework. Here the hand of a professional Buddhologist with a specialty in Mahāyāna (especially Mādhyamika) philosophy would be necessary to analyze the subject in the detail which it deserves. Yet it is possible to make do with a relatively superficial examination because the saintly madmen themselves summarize their philosophical position in a few simple formulae which the average student of Mahāyāna thought will find relatively easy to follow. Furthermore, though the use of the terms for "mad" to refer to this philosophy and its adherents may be a uniquely Tibetan innovation, the philosophy itself can be found almost literally presented in the most authoritative Indian Tantric sources, such as the *Hevajra Tantra*. It is certainly not coincidental that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and the other saintly madmen regarded themselves as the rebirths of the great Indian *siddhas* such as Shā-bā-ri-pa, among whom these Tantric sources were first elaborated, and not of the celestial Bodhisattvas such as Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī.

The philosophical position which underlies the behaviour of the saintly madman is the Dbu-ma or Mādhyamika, developed in India by Nāgārjuna and passed down through many generations of adherents into Tibet. In its Prāsaṁgika form it came to be the principal "view" (Skt. *darśana*; Tib. *lta-ba*) of the various Tibetan Buddhist sects.[128] In addition to fundamental philosophical view, Tibetan sects characterize themselves according to their tradition of meditation (*sgom-pa*), practice (*spyod-pa*), and Tantric lineage (*rgyud*). The special way in which the Dwags-po Bka'-brgyud-pa sect combined, elaborated and emphasized these various elements was given the name *Phyag-rgya chen-po* (Skt. Mahāmudrā), sometimes translated "The Great Seal."[129] Just as each sect had its own combination of these elements, so also could individual members within a sect emphasize one particular element to guide their own spiritual lives. A specialist in *lta-ba*, for example, could be a philosopher.

What seems to have distinguished the great Tibetan madmen, and probably also their Indian models, was their emphasis on practice or behavior (*spyod-pa*). The Phyag-rgya chen-po accepts the Mādhyamika thesis of two ways of viewing existence, the absolute (Skt. *paramārtha*; Tib. *don dam-pa*) and the empirical or conventional (Skt. *saṁvṛti*; Tib. *kun-rdzob*). Through its special interpretation of the doctrine of *pratītyasamutpāda* (Tib. *rten-'brel-'byung-ba*), whereby all temporal or physical entities (Skt. *dharma*; Tib. *chos*) are proven to be empty of "essence" or "self" (Skt. *niḥsvabhāva*; Tib. *rang-bzhin med-pa*), the Mādhyamika concludes that there is no "essential" difference between things. The Mādhyamika dialectician claims to reduce every proposition to a *prasaṁga*, a *reductio ad absurdum*, and hence, as Murti writes, "It is the contention of the Mādhyamikas that the final release is possible only through Śūnyatā - by the giving up of all views, standpoints and predicaments."[130] The problem then becomes one of how to obtain salvation by means of the only tools available, those of empirical reality. The Phyag-rgya chen-po answer is that once one has accepted this view (*lta-ba*) of existence, one must then apply it consistently to one's meditation (*sgom-pa*), behavior (*spyod-pa*), and Tantric practices (*rgyud*). In meditation, one homologizes one's body to the realm of Buddhist divinities; one produces in one's self the "ego" (*nga-rgyal*) of Hevajra (Tib. Dgyes-pa rdo-rje), for example, a process known as *bdag-bskyed*, "generation in one's self."[131] In one's behavior, one takes no dogmatic positions (*gzung-med*), adheres to no particular doctrine, views things as without distinction of good or bad (*bzang ngan med pa'i don rtogs*),[132] as having the same flavor (*ro-snyoms*). In short, one should behave "at ease" (*lhug-pa*), "non-artificially" (*ma bcos-par*), "naturally" (*rang-byung-gyi*), "spontaneously" (*shugs-'byung-gyi*). These are the terms which appear again and again in the saintly madman's description of his own behavior, from Mi-la-ras-pa on. As for Tantric practice, the Phyag-rgya chen-po attaches the greatest importance to that set established by Nā-ro-pa, the great teacher of Mar-pa, known as the Nā-ro-chos-drug, or "Six Practices of Nā-ro-pa."[133] In addition to this basic text and the standard commentaries belonging to it, many Bka'-brgyud-pa sects have special presentations or elaborations of these six practices, revealed to great masters of later times as gter-ma or "treasure." Differences between subsects can often be made only on the basis of which gter-ma is traditionally followed as authoritatively transmitting the same basic six practices.

The above brief explanation applies to the whole of the Dwags-po Bka'-brgyud-pa sect, and not specifically to the tradition of saintly madmen. It was, as said above, in the realm of public behavior (spyod-pa) that these men set themselves apart. To maintain as a philosophical proposition that there is no difference between good and bad is harmless enough, but to apply such a proposition rigidly to one's everyday behavior was something which most Bka'-brgyud-pa monks would never have done, simply because it violated common sense. Their perpetual violation of common sense rules and regulations is probably what earned the Tibetan madmen their appelation "mad". It was, in fact, the illiterate lay public and the disdainful academicians who most frequently addressed them as smyon-pa. In our four volume Dri'u-lhas collection, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs is found frequently defending his actions to the accusing academicians (mtshan-nyid-pa).[134] Mi-la-ras-pa had the same problem in his time.[135] When these saintly madmen refer to themselves as being mad, it is usually with a sense of sarcasm, for defining something as mad is a value judgment which, like any other dogmatic position, is inherently false. The paradox of madness (smyon-pa), then, is that what appears empirically to be mad is in fact the highest state of spiritual achievement, whereas the sane man is doomed to endless eons of rebirth in misery. Such was the message of a song which Mi-la-ras-pa sang to Pha Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, when the latter called him mad for neglecting to observe public convention by covering his penis with his garments.

"To all my teachers I bow in praise.
To the benevolent ones I go for refuge.
May they remove difficulties and obstacles!
May they lead men to the Dharma by whatever
path they have chosen!

Of Mi-la-ras-pa, the yogin,
Others ask, 'Is he mad?'
Even I wondered if I was mad.
I shall explain, hence, the nature of
my madness.

Our father was mad, his sons were mad, their
descendents were mad;
The lineal head, great Rdo-rje-'chang was mad:
My great-grandfather Ti-lo-pa the wise was mad;
My grandfather Nā-ro-pa the scholar was mad;
My aged father Mar-pa the translator was mad;
I, Mi-la-ras-pa myself am mad.

The lineal head great Rdo-rje-'chang,
Was maddened by the demon of the four co-equal bodies;
My great-grandfather Ti-lo-pa the wise,

Was maddened by the demon of the Phyag-rgya chen-po;
My grandfather Nā-ro-pa the scholar,
Was maddened by the demon of ascetic learning;
My aged father Mar-pa the translator,
Was maddened by the demon of the four classes of Tantra;
I myself, Mi-la-ras-pa,
Am maddened by the demon of wind and mind.
Our view, which takes no position, is mad.
Our meditation, luminous and devoid of object, is mad.
Our behavior, non-grasping and self-liberating, is mad.
Our fruit, which lacks hope and fear, is mad.
Our pledges, free of deceit, are mad.

Through madness have I been injured by innumerable demons:
I have been injured by the male deity of my *bla-ma*'s directions;
I have been injured by the female deity of empowerment by the *mkha'-gro-ma*;
I have been possessed by the demon of happiness;
The demoness of skilful understanding roams within me.

Through demonic injury have I become sick countless times:
I have been stabbed from behind by the Phyag-rgya chen-po;
I have been stabbed from in front by the Rdzogs-pa chen-po;[136]
I have been seized by the consumption of yogic breathing;
I have been afflicted from above by the fever of wisdom;
I have been sickened from below by the cold of deep concentration;

I have been stricken in the middle by the (combined) cold and
fever of the (combined) bliss and emptiness;[137]
From my mouth do I vomit, like blood, the directions (of
my teachers);
My body lies wracked by the joy of the absolute.

Through sickness have I died countless times:
My dogmas have died in the expanse of the view;
My fatigue and distractions have died in the expanse
of meditation;
My hypocrisy has died in the expanse of the behavior;
My hopes and fears have died in the expanse of the fruit;
My deceit has died in the expanse of the pledge;
My yoga has died in the field of the three bodies.
On the morning of this yogi's death,
Not by a single clean wool cloth,
But by a shroud of two colors let him be covered!
Not by a cord of plaited strands,
But by the cord of A-wa-dhū-tī let him be bound![138]
Not by some snot-faced young boy,
But by a child of wisdom let the corpse
Of the dead yogi be borne aloft and carried!
Not by the dust-grey earthly road,
But along the path of great awakenment let him be carried!
By the *mkha'-'gro-ma* of the four classes who know the way,
And by the Bka'-brgyud-pa *bla-mas* of the corpse's path, let
them be guided![139]

Not to the mountains of scree and meadow,
But to the mountain of glorious Kun-tu-bzang-po
  let him be accompanied!
Not where the cemetary foxes play,
But where the two foxes of wisdom and means play,
In the grave of Rdo-rje-'chang let him be buried!"[140]

This song is probably the clearest and most complete presentation of religious madness to be found in this type of literature, and is typical of one song style of the saintly madmen in its large-scale use of analogy and metaphor. While tracing the course of ordinary madness, from demonic injury to sickness, death, and rebirth, Mi-la-ras-pa shows how saintly madness leads to ultimate salvation. The two courses are parallel but lead in entirely opposite directions. It is for this reason that Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, after hearing Mi-la-ras-pa sing the above song, replied, "It is quite apparent that your way of madness is a good one, oh yogin."[141]

The song also illustrates what is probably the most important principle of behavior for the saintly madman, the practice of reversal (Skt. *viparīta-bhāvanā*). This practice is established in the most authoritative Indian Tantric texts, and is the most obvious link between the Indian Tantric masters of the fifth through eighth centuries and the Tibetan saintly madmen of later centuries. The practice of reversal or *bzlog-pa'i sgom-pa* (lit. "meditation which reverses") is a feature common to several of the minor schools of Indian mystical tradition deriving from the influx of Tantric practices into the traditional religious modes. Thus, the texts of the Nāth siddhas or magicians use the term *ulṭā-sādhanā* to describe a set of practices virtually identical to that of *viparīta-bhāvanā*, and the terms are practically the same in meaning. Dasgupta's description of the regressive or reverse nature of *ulṭā-sādhanā* could be equally applied to the other term. It is "regressive, firstly in the sense that it involves yogic processes which give a regressive or upward motion to the whole biological as well as psychological systems which in their ordinary nature possess a downward tendency; and secondly, in the sense that such yogic practices lead the Siddha to his original ultimate nature as the immortal *Being* in his perfect or divine body, back from the ordinary creative process of *becoming*."[142] To this statement it could be added that the practitioner makes use of those forms of behavior which are pollutive or otherwise ritually proscribed precisely because they have the appearance or form (but not the reality) of being pollutive. By behaving contrary to social norms, he attempts to reach perfect understanding of the Mādhyamika thesis that there is no distinction between good and bad, that everything has a "uniformity of flavor" (*ro-snyoms*). The *Hevajra Tantra* explains this paradoxical practice as follows:

> "(46) With the very poison, a little of which would kill any other being, a man who understands poison would dispel another poison. (47) Just as a man who suffers with flatulence is given beans to eat, so that wind may overcome wind in the way of a homeopathic cure, so existence is purified by existence in the countering of discursive thought by its own kind.
>
> (48) Just as water entered in the ear is drawn out again by water, so also the notion of existing things is purified by appearances. (49) Just as those who have been burned by fire must suffer again by fire, so those who have been burned by the fire of passion must suffer the fire of passion. (50) Those things by which men of evil conduct are bound, others turn into means and gain thereby release from the bonds of existence. (51) By passion the world is bound, by passion too it is released, but by the heretical buddhists this practice of reversals is not known."[143]

What Snellgrove has translated as "homoeopathic cure" is rendered by the Tibetan translator as "the application of the medicine of reversal" (*bzlog pa'i sman ni brtags pa*). A medicine reverses the normal course of an illness while it enhances the normal course of life. So also does reverse behavior halt the downward trend of human existence, even as it provides upwards impetus towards the state of final salvation. This is one of the underlying assumptions of Tantric yoga and can be seen as an extrapolation of the Mādhyamika philosophical position outlined above. It was the practice of reverse behavior which earned Tantric practitioners a bad reputation among the orthodox religious circles in India, and which earned Mi-la-ras-pa and his spiritual followers the epithet "mad".

If ritualized sexual practices seem overly emphasized in Tantric practice, it is because sex is the most powerful expression of lust, which Buddhists regard as one of the three elemental poisons. It is to cure people of their hypocritical shame that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs uses "dirty speech" (gtsog-gtam). It is not as a sensualist but as a practitioner of Tantric reversal that Mi-la-ras-pa describes to Ras-chung-pa the three things precious to a yogi: a Tantric consort of auspicious marks, the delightful experience to the mind (which results from their union), and "elephant-like behavior,"[144] where the latter term is meant to imply rampaging lust, the elephant in rutting season, a well known image from classical Indian poetry.[145]

To practice ritualized sexual reversal is at once regarded as a powerful antidote to one's downward trend in Saṁsāra, and as an extremely dangerous endeavor, potentially harmful to one's upward progress towards salvation. For the practice to be successful one must spend months in meditation, purifying one's mind and gaining the proper level of spiritual insight. That many abused the practice is beyond doubt, for such individuals are constantly criticized by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs in his songs. In one of these, Spyan-ras-gzigs is represented as complaining to 'Brug-pa Kun-legs about the hypocrisy of many Buddhist practitioners. "Those who go by the name mantrin (i.e. Tantric practitioner) take women for their pledge; those who call themselves (upholders of the) Vinaya rub against the crotch of the boy monks; those who practice the (Lower) Means Path lead a string of illicit children; (etc)."[146]

The expression of saintly madness in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of Tibet should not be viewed, however, as being merely a literal interpretation and public exhibition of the tenets of the standard Tantric texts. What seems to have motivated these men was a sense of duty to restore the tradition of the solitary, wandering yogi to the level of its former greatness in India. The point has been well expressed by E. Gene Smith. "Just as the movement of Tsong-kha-pa was an attempt to reorient the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition to the fundamental contribution of Atīśa, the Graduated Path (Lam-rim) with its emphasis on the exoteric as an indispensible foundation for the esoteric, so the *smyon-pa* represents an attempt to rededicate the Dkar-brgyud-pa sects to old truths and insights that were being forgotten."[147] It is the songs of the early Indian *siddhas* or magician-saints which compare most closely with those of the Tibetan madmen of later times. The term *rdo-rje-glu* "Vajra song", used by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and others to refer to some of their songs, is a translation of Sanskrit *Vajra-gīti*, the term by which the songs of the Indian *siddhas* were known. There are other parallels between these two groups which will be mentioned as the need arises.

The period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was one of great political and religious change in India as well as in Tibet, and it is tempting to relate the revival of saintly madness in Tibet to the movement of romantic religious enthusiasm which spread throughout northern India during that time. The Vaiṣṇava-sahajiyā movement was one such development, and the characteristics attributed to it by Dimock resemble in remarkable detail those of the Tibetan saintly madmen. They expressed themselves in vernacular languages just as 'Brug-pa Kun-legs used the dialects of the region to sing his songs. They rejected the traditional role of Brahmins as religious leaders, even as the Tibetan madmen rejected the established clergy. They also "propagated enthusiastic religion, with singing and dancing as a part of the search for immediate and ecstatic communion with the divine."[148] Their sources of poetic inspiration included the early Indian Tantric saints, as well as the traditional sources of Kṛṣṇaite devotionalism.[149] The following lines were attributed to Caitanya, the great founder of Vaiṣṇava devotionalism, and strongly resemble the attitude of the Tibetan madman, in spite of the differences between their doctrinal positions.

> "I repeated Kṛṣṇa's name incessantly, and my mind became unhinged. I could not be calm - I became mad, and so I laugh and weep and dance and sing.... Once, my mind was calm, but in the name of Kṛṣṇa my rationality has disappeared."[150]

The Bāuls of Bengal offer another parallel with the tradition of madness in Tibet. The term Bāul has been related to Sanskrit vātula which we discussed above as meaning "infected with the wind disease," that is to say a form of madness.[151] The modern Hindī word bāur also means "mad" or "insane" and is a cognate. Bāuls still exist in Bengal today and though they probably developed as a branch of the same tradition of devotional madness, they have come to specialize in the composing and singing of spiritual hymns expressive of their "insane" love for Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rādhā.[152]

It can be seen, then, that the tradition of religious madness in Tibet is a complex one, the evolutionary product of several lines of development. Tibetan madmen cannot be viewed as simply outspoken social reformers, religious fanatics, popular minstrels or insane devotees of Buddhist esoterism. To some extent all of these aspects are to be found in their character, and possibly others also which we have not noted. For there were minstrel traditions in Tibet which had little to do with saintly madness, just as there were the chos-smyon-pa who possessed little in the way of saintliness.[153] What has made Mi-la-ras-pa, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and Gtsang-smyon-pa so prominent in Tibetan religious and literary tradition is, in the final analysis, the cleverness and beauty of their songs, their wit and incisive knowledge of human behavior, and their complete devotion to and success in achieving a spiritual goal of unusual difficulty. Their very madness, to the popular mind, was proof of their success.

Chapter 3

The Structure and Content of the Songs of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs

The Study of Tibetan folk songs and folk music is a field still in its infancy. Before refugees began entering India in 1959, the problem for the researcher was one of obtaining informants able to supply authentic material. Even now our stock of material and knowledge is limited due to insufficient attention to the subject. In spite of growing interest in the field, the specialists have yet to give even adequate descriptions of and definitions for the various Tibetan terms for song. Many types of song are also sung only in the context of certain dances, and these song and dance combinations, referred to generally as *bro-gzhas*, may differ substantially, depending on the native locale of the performers. When dealing with songs of a religious nature the problem becomes even greater, for in addition to religious songs or hymns *per se*, Tibetan monastic groups are also accustomed to put their religious verses to chant, and the distinction between the two can often be difficult, without a tape or otherwise recorded melody. When dealing with collections of songs with no indication of melody, as is the case with the majority of the songs in our collection, generalizations about meter and versification are very difficult to make. The following discussion should be regarded as merely a provisional analysis of the various types of song and verse used by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, and a comparison of these with similar songs collected from various sources, including other members of the tradition of saintly madmen.[154] For ease of reference, the songs and versified portions of our translation have been numbered consecutively in the margin at the beginning. It can be seen that a given verse passage may be as short as a few lines, or as long as several pages.

The setting of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's songs usually follow a typical pattern. He travels to a particular place where by chance or intention he meets certain individuals. This is often at an inn or the home of a patron. Usually a dialogue is then begun or an event occurs which leads to controversy over a matter of religion or ethical behavior. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs then states his opinion or answers the question in the form of a song. Sometimes he is simply approached and asked to sing a song on a certain topic. Occasionally he sings a song in response to another, and, on a few occasions, he simply records songs others have sung which he found to be very beautiful. Probably more frequently than is indicated in the text he accompanies his song with music, dancing, or both. There are a number of terms which he uses to refer to his songs. The most common are glu, glu-dbyangs, and mgur. Glu is the common word for "song" in Tibetan, usually implying several verses and sometimes a refrain. It is often antiphonal, that is, sung in repartee fashion with two groups alternating.[155] Glu-dbyangs seems to be virtually synonymous with glu. The term mgur, however, seems to imply a song of exceptionally beautiful melody, sung as a solo or with instrumental accompaniment. Modern Tibetan dictionaries equate mgur with the dohā sung by the Indian Tantric siddhas such as Sa-ra-ha. Mgur, therefore, are almost always of a religious nature. A special type of glu is the rdo-rje glu, a translation of Sanskrit vajra-gīti. These songs are always symbolic and expressive of complex Tantric symbolism. In addition to these, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs occasionally refers to his songs as nyams-mgur or nyams-dbyangs. These terms refer to the special way in which he composes the songs. Like Mi-la-ras-pa, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs had a gift for song, but it is implied that the talent partakes of the nature of a magical attainment resulting from their high level of spiritual achievement, and from the great merit they have accumulated during previous lives. Having achieved control over their psycho-physiology, the *cakras* or mystical centers located along the axis of their bodies, and the "winds" or forces which move along the mystical channels, they are able to concentrate this force in the center located at their neck, usually identified with the *longs-spyod-sku* or "enjoyment body" of the Buddha.[156] This process is a meditative one, and the practitioner at this level actually partakes of Buddhahood and becomes able to produce songs of the absolute truth (*don dam-pa*) spontaneously; they simply appear in his mind as mental experience (*nyams*) natural to one who has achieved the *longs-spyod* level of Buddhahood. Thus, Mi-la-ras-pa says that when the four joys move upward and reach the level of *longs-spyod* in his neck, his "treasury of *rdo-rje glu* spontaneously flows forth."[157] Similarly, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, at the court of the second Dalai Lama, is asked to sing "one of those introspective songs that arise in your heart" (*nyams dbyangs thugs la shar ba*).[158] Mi-la-ras-pa says that "The little songs which come to my mouth, just appear, as if in a book,"[159] also that he sings his songs from the realm of absolute existence.[160]

There is a further term used by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs in the sense of melody or tune, which is very important and which has been extensively discussed by Stein.[161] This is the term *rlung rta* or *rlung gyi rta-pho*, meaning literally "wind horse", or "wind stallion." Variants which occur are *dbyangs-rta*, *dbyangs rta'i rta-pho*, *glu rta*, or simply *rta*. The term is used extensively in the texts of the Ge-sar saga and Stein has suggested its origin as an analogy of the drum which the Tibetan shaman rides during his transic journey. In comparable fashion the Tibetan bard transports himself via the horse of song to a state or "realm" or spiritual intuition.[162] The question of the relationship between the saintly Tibetan madman as bard and epic poet and the phenomenon of shamanism is an interesting one, but I do not think that the parallels are sufficient to warrant any positive conclusions.[163]

It seems to have been characteristic of the Tibetan madmen that, in spite of the great similarities between their styles of song and underlying religious ideas, there was yet great room for improvisation. Mi-la-ras-pa spent most of his life in solitary meditation and in the practice of asceticism. He is frequently addressed or referred to as a man of great austerity.[164] Accordingly, his songs are mostly of a deeply religious nature such as the rdo-rje-glu. On the other hand, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs by his own admission spent little time in study or meditation. He is never known as a practicer of asceticism, and his songs are much closer to the traditional folk patterns and themes. One feature of such songs which he uses extensively is the appearance at the beginning and in refrains of tshig-lhad or "inserted words", words or phrases which serve both to indicate the rhythm of the song and melody to be used.[165] The phrase a'o dang e na in song 20 and a sho dang la li ya li la sho la ya ya in song 29 are examples of the former usage, while song 12 is introduced with the phrase "Tsho mo de bsam grub lo mo de gru bzhi, such is the melody of this song," as an example of the latter usage. Occasionally assuming the function of rhythm filler are the trisyllabic onomatopoeic constructions which are found in the earliest known written specimens of Tibetan folksong,[166] and which seem to have characterized Tibetan verse at all periods. Typical forms such as sil-li-li usually have, however, a definite semantic content associated with a particular item or action and this leads to considerable difficulties in translation. I shall have more to say about these forms below.

The singing of songs in repartee or alternating fashion is a characteristic of Tibetan culture. Sometimes this is done in sportive contest, sometimes merely for entertainment. In modern times the most popular form of verse for this purpose is a glu-gzhas of four lines, each with six syllables, with stress on the first, third, and fifth. Recently a collection of 218 such songs has been edited and translated by N. Norbu Dewang,[167] and other collections have been published from time to time.[168] The six syllable line of verse has become so popular that even proverbs have this as the standard form. I was told one such proverb by an informant which is said to be used when a winning combination of six is thrown in dice:

'Brug-pa Kun-legs phebs byung/
shig gi pags brgyang btang byung/
"'Brug-pa Kun-legs has come, and
stretched out the skin of a louse."

The sense is that the impossible has been achieved. There is also a pun in this proverb, for the first word 'Brug rhymes with drug "six". But the four line, six syllable format does not seem to have been as popular in earlier centuries. It is only seldom used by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, once at the summer mountain festival (dbyar-ka'i ri ltad),[169] and I am not aware ot its use by Mi-la-ras-pa at all. Yet repartee songs of other varieties are sung by both 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and Mi-la-ras-pa. A particularly charming example is the two part song translated below, numbers 20 and 21, where 'Brug-pa Kun-legs sings a song of farewell to five girls who sing to him from the bank of the river as he passes by in his skin boat.

Another type of poetic composition popular among the more literate circles was that where each line of the poem begins with successive letters of the Tibetan syllabary, first ka, then kha, and so on through a. Some examples also include the vowels e and o. There are no examples of this type of poetic singing in the collection translated here, but volume Ga contains three of them.[170] Such poems, known as ka bshad, sometimes sung and sometimes simply recited, are still popular among Tibetans. One was composed by mi-dbang Shel-dkar-gling-pa at Darjeeling in 1911, in honor of the thirteenth Dalai Lama's visit to India that year.[171]

There is one style of song which is particularly important in the writings of both 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and Mi-la-ras-pa. It consists of a complex of analogies between the processes and stages of yogic contemplation and the processes of the farming, animal husbandry, and household arts of the Tibetan peasantry. In this sense these songs can often be difficult to understand, because they use specialized terminology for farming, ploughing, beer-making, and many of the words are not found in the normally available dictionaries. On the other hand, they also serve as useful commentaries on the social and domestic life of previous centuries. One such song is included in the collection we have translated here, song number 10 on beer-making. A very similar song is found in the collected songs of Mi-la-ras-pa.[172] Mi-la-ras-pa also composed another beautiful example of this genre dealing with farming and harvesting which concludes with the verse,

"You are a cultivator of this worldly realm,
I am a cultivator of firm rebirth;
At harvest time many will look up to you,
But in the end will your joy be a match for mine?"[173]

The relationship between the everyday peasant life, frought with hardships and spiritually unproductive, and the life of a yogic meditator destined to remove himself from the miseries of Saṃsāra entirely is a constant theme in the songs and stories of the saintly madmen. They are not always of the elaborately symbolic type just described. Typically a peasant will ask Mi-la-ras-pa or 'Brug-pa Kun-legs in all honesty how they can live, not knowing where they will get food and drink for the next day. Of what use, they ask, is meditation and ascetic practice which does nothing to earn a livelihood. The standard theme of the reply is that through religious endeavor salvation will be attained, removing the need to earn a living forever. On one such occasion Mi-la-ras-pa's own disciples argue that even for him there is still needed a home, food and clothing. In his reply he sings,

> "Fearing hunger I sought for food;
> The food I ate was deep meditation of the Absolute.
> Now I have no fear of hunger.
> Fearing thirst I sought for drink;
> My drink was the immortal beer of mindful wisdom.
> Now I have no fear of thirst."[174]

It can be seen, then, that there are many parallels between the songs of ethical and religious content of Mi-la-ras-pa and 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. Tibetans distinguish between lha chos and mi chos, the practice of virtue as laid down by the Buddha and the social and ethical rules of this-worldly life. Both of these men taught the superiority of the former, but at the same time sought to show how the layman and peasant, the farmer and the nomad, could achieve benefit for the next life by the honest practice of mi chos. The differences in their songs in large measure are a reflection of the differences in their own lifestyles. Mi-la-ras-pa is more typical of the hermit, the yogi who isolates himself in the mountains and caves. Thus, many of his songs have their inspiration in dreams of mystical communication with the fairy-like mkha'-'gro-ma or ḍākinī, as they are known in Sanskrit. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, on the other hand, seldom has revelations of this kind. His communication with the celestial Bodhisattvas and Tantric deities is usually presented in a facetious light, as for example the letter he received from Rdo-rje-'chang which we noted above. He himself seems much more a man of this world, always willing to laugh at himself, to call himself a lier or charm the ladies. If we sometimes have difficulty in believing that such behaviour is merely a product of his "spontaneous" and "natural" state of mind, we can be sure that the ambiguity was intentional, though nonetheless confusing. Whereas Mi-la-ras-pa regularly performs miracles of the typically Tantric variety, in full view of his spectators, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs is seldom seen to do so, preferring to win his followers through force of poetic logic and wit. He does not proselytize in the usual sense, urging people to enter the monastery and take the vows of ordination, a style of life which he himself had experienced and rejected. His most consistent message is for people to see themselves for what they are, to drop their hypocrisy and pretentions, to treat their families with the love they deserve. The religious practice he most frequently recommends is the simple recitation of the six syllable prayer to Spyan-ras-gzigs, the Bodhisattva of compassion. From this point of view he seems to be not much different from those individuals known as ma-ṇi-pa, wandering preachers who would tell tales of initial woe and ultimate religious merit, to be obtained through the recitation of the prayer oṁ ma-ṇi padme hūṁ.[175] It was as a saint fond of the average man, a master of his folk songs and spokesman for his grievances, that has earned 'Brug-pa Kun-legs that curious mixture of awe and fondness which Tibetans of more than four centuries have felt for him.

FOOTNOTES

1. The form Dre'u-lhas also occurs in the texts. It is a small monastery in S.E. Tibet. For further details on this and the date and provenance of our xylograph, see Part II, pp.

2. Hereafter we shall refer to the four parts by their Tibetan designation *Ka*, *Kha*, *Ga*, *Nga*, the equivalents of English A, B, C, D.

3. *Ka* 2.b, 163.a-164.a.

4. For the various divisions of the 'Brug-pa sect, see ch. 1, pp. 13-18.

5. On Skyid-shod, see T.V. Wylie, trans., *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1962), pp. 74, 150.

6. All the modern writers seem to agree on this date, but there is still considerable confusion about the date of his death. See Part II, pp.

7. The full name of this monastery was 'Brug-se-ba-byand-chub-chos-gling; it is located in the Snam valley, north of the Skyid-chu River. See Alfonsa Ferrari, trans., *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), pp. 72, 165.

8. The term *nang-so* appears to have different usages. Tucci suggests that it is roughly equivalent to *nang-blon*, "interior minister." Both the Sa-skya and Phag-mo-gru had *nang-so*, who were said to preside over the administration of justice as heads of court. Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: La Libreria Della Stato, 1949), pp. 35f. On the other hand, the *Blue Annals* says that between 1444 and 1457 there was no abbot of Rtses-thang monastery, that two *nang-so* were appointed instead. From this context

it would seem that the term might refer to the lay administrator of a monastery. George N. Roerich, trans., The Blue Annals, vol. 2 (Calcutta: The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1953), p. 1084. Stein translates the term as préfet. Stein, Vie et Chants, p. 14.

9. Ka 3.b.

10. "chung chung nas bya bral gyi lad mo rkyang byed pa'i pra chal cig yod ces grag go /", Ka 3.b. Such behavior is typically reported in the biographies of great religious men, especially of the Bka-'brgyud-pa sect. See ch. 2, pp. 28-29.

11. The instances of 'Brug-pa monks teaching at Gdan-sa-mthil are not rare. Rgyal-ba'i dbang-po Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428-1476), for example, gave up his abbotship of Ra-lung in his later years to devote himself to the life of a hermit. But there was a six year period during which he was said to have been the abbot of Dwags-lha-sgam-po. Padma-dkar-po, Chos 'byung bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed ces bya ba bzhugs so, folio 306.b, ed. Lokesh Chandra, Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1969). Hereafter this work will be referred to by the English title, with original folio numbers.

12. Ka 3.b, 125.b. On Snel, see Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, pp. 642-644.

13. Ka 3.b.

14. Ka 4.a.

15. Kha 24.a-b, 25.a, Ga 21.b-22.a. This was the opinion of Mi-la-ras-pa also, who said, "One's homeland is the jail of demons; liberation (double meaning intended) is difficult, flee it quickly!" (pha yul bdud kyi btson ra yin // thar bar dka'o myur du bros //). (Gtsang smyon He-ru-ka) Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan, Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po rje btsun bzhad pa

rdo rje'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum, folio 86.a-b (xylograph, ed. unknown). Hereafter this cource will be cited as *Mgur-'bum*.

16. The term *gser-mig* is a borrowing from Sanskrit poetic sources.

17. On the *mtsho sman*, see Rene de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1956), pp. 198-202. There were several *mtsho sman* regarded in different contexts as queen.

18. "sha ba rwa bcu de ni bsad song // a ma yu mo de yang 'das song // she'u phrug pha bu rdza khrod du sdod pa'i kho thag de chad song // spang stod spang smad ga la 'gro rung lings pha (sic) las srungs shig yul de'i gzhi bdag // gser mig pha rgan de ni bsad song // a ma rgan mo de yang 'das song // nye'u pha bu mtsho stod la sdod pa'i kho thag de chad song // rgya mtsho ga la sdod rung nya ba dang 'phrad ma'jug mtsho sman rgyal mo // pha rgan rin chen bzang po de ni bsad song // ma rgan mgon mo skyid de yang 'das song // kun legs pha bu gnams lung skyog mo la yong ba'i kho thag de chad song // rgyal khams gang la 'gro rung bar chad las srungs shig 'brug pa'i chos skyong //." *Ka* 82.a. My translation differs slightly from that of Stein, *Vie et Chants*, pp. 218f. On the son of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, see below pp. 5-6.

19. *Ka* 4.a-b.

20. (Thu'u-bkwan) Blo-bzang chos-kyi-nyi-ma, *Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs dang 'dod tshul ston pa legs bshad shel gyi me long*, ch.4, folio 12.a, ed. Ngawang Gelek Demo, *Collected Works of Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma*, vol.2 (*Kha*), (New Delhi, 1969). Hereafter this source will be cited as *Grub-mtha' shel-gyi-me-long*. This set of six practices, fundamental to the 'Brug-pa sect and patterned after the *Nā-ro-chos-drug*, are given as 1) *rnam rtog lam 'khyer*, 2) *nyon mongs lam 'khyer*, 3) *na tsha lam 'khyer*, 4) *lha 'dre lam 'khyer*, 5) *sdug bsngal lam 'khyer*, and 6) *'chi ba lam 'khyer*.

Ibid., folio 24.a. The first five are said to deal with the path of the Mahāmudrā and standard *bodhisattva* practice, and the latter with *bar-do*, the rituals of passage into the next life.

21. *Ka* 116.a.

22. "gzhan yang de skabs kyi mkhas grub phal che ba dam pa 'di nyid kyi slob mar ma gyur ba med pas 'brug pa kun legs kyis kyang thog mar rje 'di nyid la bsnyen rdzogs zhus pa'i lo rgyus snang /." (Zhwa-lu Ri-sbug sprul-sku) Blo-gsal bstan-skyong, *Dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar lo rgyus ngo mtshar dad pa'i 'jur ngogs zhes bya ba bzhugs so* /,folio 115.a, ed. S.W. Tashigang, *On the History of the Monastery of Zhwa-lu*, Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, vol. 9 (Leh [Ladakh], 1971). Mkhyen-rab-pa was also one of the principle masters of Ngag-dbang-chos-rgyal (1463-1538), fourteenth abbot of Ra-lung and second cousin of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. Padma-dkar-po, *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, folio 307.b. His intimate association with the 'Brug-pa sect and its teachings is also established by the fact of his compilation of chapter *Sa* of the *Bde-mchog mkha'-'gro snyan-rgyud*, also known as the *Ras-chung snyan-rgyud*, a collection of Tantric teachings deriving from Ras-chung-pa but not passed on directly through the well known Bka'-brgyud-pa lineages. These were compiled and written down in full for the first time by Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507). S. W. Tashigangpa, ed., *Bde Mchog Mkha' 'Gro Snyan rgyud (Ras Chung Snyan Rgyud), Two Manuscript Collections of Texts from the Yig cha of Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka*, vol. 1, Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, vol. 11 (Leh [Ladakh], 1971), pp. 1-6.

23. *Ka* 116.a.

24. *Ka* 3.b, 39.b.

25. *Ka* 76.b.

26. "sha tsha nga ro ches pa dgra'i dwangs ma." *Ka* 48.a-b.

27. *Ka* 76.b.

28. This history is basically a collection of biographies of the important religious leaders in the history of the founding of Buddhism and religious government in Bhutan. Bstan-'dzin chos-rgyal was the 10th *Rje mkhan-po* of Bhutan and lived 1700-1767. Therefore the Earth-female-rabbit year (*sa-mo-yos*) of its compilation must have been 1759. Anon., *Masterpieces of Bhutanese Biographical Literature* (New Delhi: n.d., 1970), p. 1.

29. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, pp. 26-27. It contains 129 folios and bears the title *'Gro ba'i mgon po chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po mthong ba don ldan*. It is said to have been compiled from several previous biographies.

30. Stein says that it is part of a collection of texts, but does not specify which. It bears the title *Chos kyi sprin chen po'i dbyangs kyi yan lag rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug dpal rdo rje gdan pa'i rnam par thar pa*. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, fn.1, 16-17.

31. "grub thob chen po 'brug pa kun legs lho rgyud du gzhan don la byon pa las / thed yul gzhung stod pa khyags nags nang du mkha' 'gro'i mtshan ldan gyi bu med nor bu 'dzom zer ba de phyag rgyar bzhes pa las / pha jo'i sras (55.a) / gsang bdag gar ston gyi sprul pa ngag dbang bstan 'dzin 'khrungs," *Lho'i chos 'byung*, folios 54.b-55.a. Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po was a Rnying-ma convert to the 'Brug-pa sect and was sent by Dbon-ras Dharma seng-ge (1177-1237) to Bhutan, in accordance with a prophecy of Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras. The Bhutanese regard him as the spiritual founder of the country. *Ibid.*, folios 8.a-9.b.

32. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, p. 14 (in reference to *Ka* 76.b).

33. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che suggested this interpretation as well as that

of Tantric consort.

34. *Ga* 15.a-b. Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka also composed such a prayer to Tārā, addressing her as *yum chen sgrol ma*. (Brag-dkar Lha-btsun) Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, *Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu slong g.yo'a (sic) ba*, folio 6.a, ed. S.W. Tashigangpa, *Bde Mchog Mkha' 'Gro Snyan Rgyud*, vol. 1, folios 1-129.

35. "rang nyid kyang chung ngu'i dus smra sgo las / lhas bskul dang 'dres bskul ji ltar yang / kha col sna tshogs lab pa dang / spyod tshul ya ma zung sna tshogs las / gtam byi khung du bshad pas / sa mtha' khyab zer ba ltar / rje gong ma'i gra slob rnams kyi rna bar son pas / brtag dpyad sna tshogs byas pa rnams stabs legs kyis 'grig pa tshad mar bzung nas / ji ltar lang gshegs las / ming du gdags par ma mdzad na // 'jig rten thams cad rmongs par 'gyur // de bas rmongs pa bsal bya'i phyir // mgon pos ming du 'dogs par mdzad // ces pa ltar rang nyid 'brug pa kun legs mi dgos kun nyes kyi skye ba yang ga la yin mod kyang / dam pa de'i skye ba yin par sgro btags la 'chel ba'i rnyed pas 'tsho ba'i mon ban smyon pa bdag gis gang gi lugs gnyis kyi sku drin gso phyir dang / gzhan yang rang la ltos bcas kyi gra slob 'ga' dang / chos rjer mos gus thob pa'i dad ldan 'ga' zhig gis bskul bas rkyen byas /." *Ka* 168.a.

36. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, p. 25.

37. *Ibid*., p. 26. Stein says that he was told by Gene Smith that according to one of his informants, there were two or three incarnations of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, and that one was named Grub-pa'i rdo-rje. I tend to believe Stein's suggestion that this Grub-pa'i rdo-rje, alias Grub-thob rin-po-che, is the same as the Rdo-rje who composed a prayer, dated 1589, at the end of volume *Ka*, and that he is also the editor of volume *Kha* who signs himself Ba-dzra dhi-ggri bha-dra.

38. Lokesh Chandra, ed., *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, Introduction by E. Gene Smith (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1969), p. 3, footnote 4.

39. *Ka* 107.b. On Sha-wa-ri(-pa), see A. Grünwedel, trans., *Die Geschichten der vierundachtzig Zauberer*, Baessler-Archiv, vol. 5, 4/5 (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1916), pp. 148-150. Toni Schmid, *The Eighty - Five Siddhas*, Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin - The Sino-Swedish Expedition - Publication 42 (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1958), p. 60.

40. "stong nyid kyi ston pa grub chen sha wa ri dbang phyug gi skye ba yin pa 'ang srid /." *Kha* 75.b.

41. Tā-ra-nā-tha, *Bka' babs bdun ldan gyi brgyud pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba rin po che'i khungs lta bu'i gtam zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, ed. Khams-sprul Don-brgyud-nyi-ma, *Two Sources for the History of Buddhist Tantrism in India* (Palampur: Tibetan Craft Community, 1970), folio 6.a-b. Abhayadattaśrī (Mi-'jigs-pa-sbyin-pa-dpal), *Lū-yi-pa'i sogs grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i yang dag lo rgyus*, folios 7.a-8.b, Peking *Bstan-'gyur* vol. 87, pp. 175.1.1-201.3.6 (*Rgyud-'grel* *Lu* 2.a-68.a).

42. Giuseppe Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* (Calcutta: The Greater India Society, 1940). See Roerich, trans., *The Blue Annals*, vol. 2, pp. 686, 700-701 for their itineraries.

43. (Rje dpa'-bo sprul-sku) Gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba-'dzin-pa, *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston gyi yan lag gsum pa bod kyi skabs las bdun pa bka' brgyud spyi'i chos 'byung bzhugs so*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, *Mkhas-paḥi-dgaḥ-ston*, part 2 (Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1961), chapter *Pa*, folio 136.b. Hereafter this source will be referred to as *Mkhas-pa'i* dga'-ston. See also R.A. Stein, "Le Liṅga des danses masquées lamaïques et la théorie des âmes," *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. V, pt. 3-4 (Santiniketan:

Visvabharati, 1957), p. 201, footnote 1.

44. Padma-dkar-po, Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po, folio 307.a.

45. Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long, folio 12.b.

46. Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po, folios 297.b-298.a.

47. Ga 54.b-55.a, 50.a-53.b.

48. Lokesh Chandra, Life of the Saint of Gtsang, Introduction by E. Gene Smith, p. 9.

49. Roerich, The Blue Annals, vol. 2, pp. 1088-1090. Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po, folio 308.b.

50. Ibid.

51. Interestingly, he was also the father of 'Jam-dbyangs chos-kyi grags-pa (1478-1523), fifteenth abbot of Ra-lung and contested rebirth of Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428-1476). It would seem that politics played a considerable role in his ultimate recognition.

52. The recognition of this man as being the same as Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan is attributed by Ariane Macdonald to simultaneous discoveries by H. Guenther, Garma Chang, and R. A. Stein. The biography of Mi-la-ras-pa by him is therefore to be dated the Earth-dragon year of 1488. Ariane Macdonald, "Histoire et philologie tibétaines," Annuaire 1969/1970, École pratique des hautes études IVe section, sciences historiques et philologiques (Paris, 1970), p. 667.

53. "sdug bsngal spangs pa'i lo // 'khor ba ma spangs pa'i zla ba // sgrub bya bral ba'i tshes bco lnga la." Ka 84.b.

54. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs claims to have existed in his previous lifetime as a certain Dge-bshes Nyams-bro'i seng-ge (Kha 15.b), but we have no other information concerning this individual. Stein seems to have missed this reference in his translations. Stein, Vie et Chants, p. 312, footnote 4.

55. On these terms, see ch. 2, pp. 43-44.

56. *Saṁbhoga-cakra* is a reference to the *saṁbhoga-kāya* or *longs-spyod-sku*, that aspect of Buddhahood where communication of religious truth to men of this world is involved.

57. "sngar gyi grub thob gong ma rnams kyi thugs nyams la 'khrungs pa'i rdo rje'i glu la sems shor nas / go ba rtogs par brdzus pa'i mgur ma snang bas ngas gang bde / kong rta bon glu sngags pa'i dbyangs sogs gang dang yang bstun nas dge bshes nyams bro ltar blangs pa 'di phral bgad mo bro // phugs don chod pa re ni yod / gang ltar tshe 'dir bslab sbyang sogs thos bsam mang po ma byas mod / 'on kyang nga bskal pa mang po'i sngon rol nas sangs rgyas mang po la bya ba byas shing / nges pa don gyi tshig don 'ga' khong du chud pa / bla ma mkhas grub mang po las zab gnad kyi tshig res chos mang po'i 'gag khrol ba / mgrin pa longs spyod kyi 'khor lo na mi la ras pa'i sgrar byas pa / byams pa dang snying rje kho na la dge sbyor gyi mthil gtod pa / chos thams cad skye 'gag med pa'i gnad go ba / spyod lam yin min 'dres ma'i nang nas min pa mang la khad pa / lto gos yon bdag nor dang dad pa gang che nas 'tshol ba drag po las kyi bsrung ma mang po 'khor ba / rdo rje phag mo dang sgrol mas byin gyis brlabs pa / ma bslabs pa'i shes rab chen pos 'khor ba'i rdzun mtshang rig pa / pha spun gyi chags (164.a) sdang gis yid skyo nas yul khams phyogs med du dad pa can gyi gces phrug byas / bar snang gi rkyang ser rlung po ltar grad med du 'phyo ba'i gu yangs po // gang shar skyid pa'i nyi ma sgo khung du shar nas nyams dga' blo bde skyong ba'i byar med pa chen pos mi zer dgu zer byed 'di byed med pa'i spyod pas / sems can bslu ba spangs nas ni // shes kyang bdag gi skyon yon gzhan gyis mi rtogs pas / rang gi rang bzhin sgro btags med pa snying dang 'dra ba'i bu la gdams so /." *Ka* 163.b-164.a.

58. This is undoubtedly the same as the Stod-lungs 'Phar-tshang mentioned

in the Blue Annals. Roerich, The Blue Annals, vol. 2, p. 463.

59. Ka 166.b.

60. Michel Peissel, Lords and Lamas of Bhutan (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1970), p. 85.

61. Stein, Vie et Chants, facing pages 14 and 15.

62. My principal sources for constructing this chart have been the Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po, the Bka'-brgyud-pa section of Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston, the Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long, and the Lho'i chos-'byung.

63. Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long, folio 12.a. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs occasionally mentions the existence of four gdan-sa or monastic seats of the 'Brug-pa sect, but only Ra-lung and 'Brug are given by name. Possibly Klong-rdol was one of the other two, but we know that this monastery was converted to the Dge-lugs-pa sect, perhaps in the sixteenth century. The monastery of Spos-skya may also have been one of them. It was founded by Seng-ge rin-chen (1258-1313), fifth abbot of Ra-lung. Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po, folios 303.a-b. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che, however, suggested uncertainly that the other two could have been Bde-chen-chos-'khor, near Gongs-dkar Rdo-rje-gdan, and Mo-pa-lha-rtse Rdo-rje-gling in Lho. On Ra-lung, see Giuseppe Tucci, To Lhasa and Beyond (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956), pp. 52-53.

64. Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston, folio 56.a.

65. Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long, folio 12.a.

66. Ibid., folio 12.b.

67. Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po, folio 290.b.

68. Lho'i chos-'byung, folios 8.a-b.

69. He had a brother, Seng-ge shes-rab, but he left the Ra-lung establishment at the age of eleven and had no sons. Tibetan sources are un-

certain where he spent his life, though they say that he was a great religious scholar. *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, folios 302.b-303.a.

70. "de nyid kyis shangs mo zhig la sras bskrun pa'i cho ga mdzad dgos byung la." *Ibid.*, folio 303.b.

71. *Ibid.*, folio 304.a. This role, however, was supposed to have been played by the Zhwa-nag IV Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (1340-1383), who went to China in 1359. Hugh Richardson, "The Karma-pa Sect. A Historical Note, pt. 1," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, pt. 3 & 4 (1958), pp. 146-147.

72. *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, folio 304.a.

73. *Ibid.*, folio 304.b.

74. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, facing p. 10.

75. *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, section *Na*, folio 57.b.

76. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, vol. 2, p. 672.

77. "rten nges med / khyi ra mdzad / gnas nang pa rnams kyis skur pa zhus pas bsad bsad pa slar gsos te btang." *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, folio 305.a.

78. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 4.

79. *Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long*, folio 12.b.

80. *Lho'i chos-'byung*, folio 55.a.

81. *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, folio 305.a.

82. Dpal-ldan tshul-khrims, *Chos 'byung kun gsal me long* (New Delhi: Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1971), p. 256.

83. A complete *dkar-chag*, or table of contents, to this important work has been published in Lokesh Chandra, ed., *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, pp. 32-36. Among other things, it contains the biographies of the two brothers of the grandfather of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Ra-smyon-pa and Shes-rab-bzang-po.

84. For example, Kun-dga' dpal-'byor is known to have written a history

certain where he spent his life, though they say that he was a great religious scholar. *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, folios 302.b-303.a.

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72. *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, folio 304.a.

73. *Ibid*., folio 304.b.

74. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, facing p. 10.

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78. *Ibid*., Introduction, p. 4.

79. *Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long*, folio 12.b.

80. *Lho'i chos-'byung*, folio 55.a.

81. *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, folio 305.a.

82. Dpal-ldan tshul-khrims, *Chos 'byung kun gsal me long* (New Delhi: Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1971), p. 256.

83. A complete *dkar-chag*, or table of contents, to this important work has been published in Lokesh Chandra, ed., *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, pp. 32-36. Among other things, it contains the biographies of the two brothers of the grandfather of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Ra-smyon-pa and Shes-rab-bzang-po.

84. For example, Kun-dga' dpal-'byor is known to have written a history

of the Dkar-brgyud-pa sect, and as abbot of Ra-lung during the period, he must certainly have met both 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and his father. The *zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal is also said to have written a history called *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* which could be important for our purposes. *Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long*, folio 14.b.

85. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, p. 13.

86. "rdzi'u nas chu 'dod pas skom 'thungs pa myos byed du 'dug / khros te rdzi'u shod du 'phangs pas ba zhig la phog ste shi /." Tā-ra-nā-tha, *Bka' babs bdun ldan*, folio 11.b. This is probably the original of the story told by Combe on the evils of drinking. G.A. Combe, *A Tibetan on Tibet*. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1926), p. 133.

87. Tā-ra-nā-tha, *Bka' babs bdun ldan*, folio 19.a.

88. "byis pa'i rtse mo 'am / smyon pa'i lag cha lta bu 'di la don cig yod nges pas / 'di'i don 'grol bar zhu zhus pas /." *Mgur-'bum*, folio 90.a.

89. "yab la sogs pa'i yul mi rnams kyis smyon spyod yin zer gtor ma sogs ci yang ma byas kyang / yum rgya gar lha mos ci gsung bden par bzung nas / dkar phyogs la 'bad pa chen po mdzad pas nad yams rgyun chad do /." 'Gyur-med bde-chen, *Dpal grub pa'i dbang phyug brtson 'grus bzang po'i rnam par thar pa kun gsal nor bu'i me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, folio 14.b.

90. R. Sakaki, comp., *Mahāvyutpatti*, reprint ed. (Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1966), p. 318, no. 4760.

91. Jñanavajra (Ye-shes rdo-rje), *Unmāda-graha-nirmocana* (*Smyo-byed-kyi gdon las thar par nges pa*, Peking *Bstan-'gyur*, vol. 79, pp. 235.5.7-236.1.5, *Rgyud-'grel* *Tu*, ff. 59.a-59.b. The various Sanskrit terms for madness have been dealt with by Bharati. Of particular interest is the term *vātula*, meaning "inflated with wind." This relates to the Tibetan term *rlung-smyo-ba* in that both imply mental derangements resulting from an im-

balance of wind in the body, which is one of the three bodily humours. Agehananda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition* (London: Rider & Co., 1965), pp. 285, 300.

92. The symptoms of *rlung-smyo-ba* appear to be quite similar to those of *chos-smyo-ba*, but can afflict laymen also. The *rlung-smyo-ba* is generally hyperactive and often sociopathic. Tibetans distinguish this condition from another, probably related phenomenon, called *rlung-pa*, which has been reported by several western travelers in Tibet. The *rlung-pa* or *rlung-sgom-pa* attempts to control his bodily *rlung* or winds, for the purpose of achieving weightlessness and the ability to travel at great speeds. Whereas the *rlung-sgom-pa* attempts to control his *rlung* and make use of it, the *rlung-smyo-ba* is afflicted by an imbalance of *rlung.* In practice, the distinction between these two phenomena is difficult to make. Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1968), pp. 80-92.

93. C.A. Muses, ed., *Esoteric Teachings of the Tibetan Tantra* (Lausanne: Falcon's Wing Press, 1961), pp. 31-47. I was unable to determine the Tibetan title of this work or to locate a copy.

94. Oral communication from Melvyn Goldstein, Nov. 23, 1970.

95. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, pp. 8-9.

96. *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, folio 14.b.

97. "ro snyoms zer na de 'dras yod // sdug pa dang gcin bsres za ba dang // ro gos dang mi sha la longs spyod cing // gang byung gi smyon spyod byed pa la // ro snyoms pa'i thugs khur ma bzhes mdzod //." *Ka* 143.b. Compare also *Ka* 10.a; *Mgur-'bum*, folio 190.a.

98. For example, *Kha* 73.b.

99. R.A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), p. 81.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 400, footnote 9.

102. "cir snang rtsa ba'i bla mar 'dug pa." *Kha* 6.a.

103. "snang srid dpe char rtogs tsa na // yig nag dpe cha rjed de thal // khur tsha'i chos de rjed kyang rung //." *Mgur-'bum*, folio 265.b. The term "black-lettered books" refers to normally printed books (with black ink), as distinct from poetically divine books of one form or another.

104. *Kha* 2.a.

105. "o na khye'u chung skye legs po // khyed ngo mi tsha la ngo tshar byed // 'di ni rang byung pho rtags yin // bcos ma'i ngo tsha ngas mi shes //." *Mgur-'bum*, folio 83.a.

106. R.A. Stein, *La Civilisation Tibétaine* (Paris: Dunod, 1962), p. 123.

107. Thubten Jigme Norbu & Robert Ekvall, trans., *The Younger Brother Don Yod* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), pp. 3-5.

108. "chang zhim po byung na rab byung btsun pa thog cig kyang lkog tu 'thung / bu mo gsol mo byung na bla ma thog cig kyang ber thul 'og nas rtog pa zhib mor gtong /." *Kha* 60.a.

109. *Kha* 57.b.

110. *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, Introduction by E. Gene Smith, p. 1.

111. *Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long*, folio 16.a.

112. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, p. 986.

113. *Ibid.*

114. *Ibid.*, p. 876.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 1030.

116. *Ibid.*, pp. 1039-1040.

117. *Ibid*., p. 984.

118. See (Nag-tsho lo-rtsā-ba) Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, *Jo bo rje dpal mar me mdzad ye shes kyi rnam thar rgyas pa bzhugs so* (Varanasi: E. Kalsang, Buddhist Temple, 1970), pp. 169, 188.

119. "sbas pa'i tshul bzung bas tha mal ba ltar mdzad kyang grub pa'i spyod pa ngo mtshar ba shugs 'byung du byung ba gang gis / bstan 'gro'i bde legs phun sum tshogs pa nyi ma dang nyi ma'i 'od bzhin byung ba mkhas grub thams cad kyis bsngags pa'i yul du mdzad /." Ngag-dbang kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, *Mtshungs med chos kyi rgyal po rje btsun dam chos pad dkar gyi rnam par thar pa thugs rje chen po'i dri bsung*, ed. Anon., *Masterpieces of Bhutanese Biographical Literature* (New Delhi, 1970), folio 3.b.

120. ('Ba-ra-ba) Ngag-dbang ye-shes, *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rdo rje 'chang blo gros chos 'phel gyi rnam thar rin po che bai dūrya'i 'od snang*, ed. Ngawang Gyaltsen & Ngawang Lungtok, *Bka' Brgyud Gser Phreng Chen Mo*, vol. 3 (Dehradun, 1970), folios 4.a, 20.a.

121. "gnas so sor byis pa'i 'khor tshogs bsdus nas / sku'i rtsed mo thams cad dkyil 'khor 'bri ba dang / mchod pa bsham pa / tshogs kyi 'khor lo bskor ba / chos 'chad pa sogs rdo rje slob dpon gyi bya ba kho na mdzad pas / skye bo phal pa rnams kyang ya mtshan zhing nog mtshar du byed do /." *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, folio 8.b.

122. "dgung lo gnyis pa'i dus na re 'ga' (sic) bzhengs nas thal mo spyi bor sbyar te / rje btsun mi la la phyag 'tshal lo // dpal phag mo gru pa la phyag 'tshal lo // rgyal ba rgod tshang pa la phyag 'tshal lo gsung ba yang yang du rang rdol la byung ngo /." (Brag-dkar lha-btsun) Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, *Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu slong g.yo'a ba*, folio 4.a.

123. "byis pa'i rol rtsed kyi rnam pa thams cad chos kyi bya ba kho na mdzad de / 'di ltar ba'i gci ba dang 'jim pa sogs la gtor ma bzhengs nas

cho ga gnang ba'i tshul dang / res 'ga' bla ma rnams kyi lad (5.b.) mo dbang gnang ba'i tshul mdzad...." Ngag-dbang kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, *Mtshungs med chos kyi rgyal po rje btsun dam chos pad dkar gyi rnam par thar pa thugs rje chen po'i dri bsung*, folios 5.a-b.

124. E.g. *Ka* 163.b.

125. *Ga* 71.b.

126. See ch. 1, footnote 22.

127. W.Y. Evans-Wentz, ed., *Tibet's Great Yogī Milarepa*, 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1951). Garma Chang, trans., *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa* (New York: University Books, 1962). Chang's translation, while valuable, frequently contains many defects and should preferably be read with a copy of the text in hand. For a very constructive review of this work, by J.W. de Jong, together with a bibliography of studies dealing with Mi-la-ras-pa, see *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 10, no. 2/3 (1967), pp. 204-212.

128. An excellent and detailed examination of the Mādhyamika system in India is T.R.V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, 2nd. ed. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960). That certain elements of the Yogācāra system are also to be found in the Phyag-rgya-chen-po has been asserted by both Tibetan and Western scholars. See, for example, G. Tucci, trans., *Minor Buddhist Texts*, pt. 2 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), p. 102.

129. Sometimes the *lta-ba* by itself is referred to as the Phyag-rgya chen-po. For the establishment of the *lta-ba* of Mar-pa, see *Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long*, folios 17.b-18.a.

130. Murti, *Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, p. 269.

131. See, for example, F.D. Lessing & Alex Wayman, eds. and trans.,

Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1968), pp. 159-175.

132. Mgur-'bum, folio 200.a.

133. These doctrines are well known through English translations of commentaries on them. One by Padma-dkar-po is found in W.Y. Evans-Wentz, ed., Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 155-252. Another by Tsong-kha-pa is found in C.A. Muses, ed., Esoteric Teachings of the Tibetan Tantra (Lausanne: Falcon's Wing Press, 1961), pp. 123-288. They are exhaustively treated in Herbert V. Guenther, trans., The Life and Teaching of Nāropa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, at the Clarendon Press, 1963).

134. Kha 14.a, etc.

135. Mgur-'bum, folios 187.a-190.a, 197.a-b, etc.

136. The Rdzogs-pa chen-po is the name for the lta-ba of the Rnying-ma-pa sect.

137. On the significance of the terms "bliss" (bde-ba) and "emptiness" (stong-pa) in the context of Tantric meditation, see Lessing and Wayman, Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals, p. 157.

138. All of these symbolic terms have to do with the microcosm of the universe which is conceived for meditative purposes to exist in the human body. The Avadhūtī is the central channel which reaches from the psychic center at the base of the spine to the top of the head. It is surrounded by two interwoven channels called Ro-ma and Rkyang-ma, representing, according to one interpretation, the polar principles of male and female. Thus, the "two colors" probably refer to red and white, representing these principles as symbolized by menstrual blood and sperm.

139. That is to say, those teachers who have passed away in former times.

140. "rje bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo // bka' 'drin can la skyabs su mchi // mi mthun rkyen dang bar chad sol // 'thun pa'i lam sna chos la drongs // rnal 'byor mi la ras pa la // gzhan kyang smyo 'am smyo 'am zer // rang yang smyo 'am snyam pa byung // smyo ba'i smyo lugs bshad tsa na // pha smyo bu smyo rgyud pa smyo // rgyud pa rdo rje'chang chen smyo // yang mes ti lo sher bzang smyo // mes po nā ro paṇ chen smyo // pha rgan mar pa lo tstsha smyo // nga rang mi la ras pa smyo // rgyud pa rdo rje 'chang chen de // sku bzhi lhun grub gdon gyis smyo // yang mes ti lo sher bzang de // phyag rgya chen po'i gdon gyis smyo // mes po nā ro paṇ chen de // rig pa brtul zhugs gdon gyis smyo // pha rgan mar pa lo tstsha de // rgyud sde bzhi'i gdon gyis smyo // nga rang mi la ras pa 'di // rlung sems gnyis kyi gdon gyis smyo // phyogs ris med pa'i lta ba smyo // dmigs med rang gsal sgom pa smyo // (312.a) 'dzin med rang grol spyod pa smyo // re dogs med pa'i 'bras bu smyo // zol zog med pa'i dam tshig smyo // smyo bas mi tshad 'dre yang gnod // pho gdon du bla ma'i gdams ngag gnod // mo gdon du mkha' 'gro'i byin brlabs gnod // blo bde ba'i 'gong po phug su zhugs // rtogs rtsal kyi 'dre mos rgyun myul // 'dre gnod kyis mi tshad na yang na // phyag rgya chen pos rgyab nas bzer // rdzogs pa chen pos mdun nas gzer // rlung bum pa can gyi cong gi zin // steng nas ye shes kyi tshad pas gzir // 'og na ting 'dzin gyi grang ba na // bar na bde stong gi tsha grang 'thab // kha nas gdams ngag khrag ltar skyug // chos nyid kyi bde bas byang khog rgyangs // na bas mi tshad 'chi yang 'chi // lta ba'i klong du phyogs ris 'chi // sgom pa'i klong du bying rgod 'chi // spyod pa'i klong du tshul 'chos 'chi // 'bras bu'i klong du re dogs 'chi // dam tshig klong du zol zol 'chi // sku gsum dang du rnal 'byor 'chi // rnal 'byor shi ba'i nang bar (?) de // snam bu byang rkyang ma lags pa'i // phyi snang ba khra mo'i ro 'thums thong // rtsa gres ma'i thag pa ma lags pa'i // a wa dhū tī'i thag pas drogs // snabs zhal bu tsha

ma lags pa'i // bu rig pa'i khye'u chung yar bzhengs la // rnal 'byor (312.b) shi pa'i ro 'di khur // sa lam skya mo ma lags pa'i // byang chub chen po'i lam la khur // sa mkhan mkha' 'gro sde bzhis gyis // ro lam bka' rgyud (sic) bla mas drongs // g.ya' ri spang ri ma lags pa'i // dpal kun tu bzang po'i ri la skyol // dur khrod wa spyang ma lags pa'i // thabs shes rab gnyis kyi wa spyang rol // rdo rje 'chang gi dur du sbos //." *Mgur-'bum*, folios 311.b-312.b. Here, as in many other songs, Chang has largely misunderstood the studied complexity of the author. In this song in particular, he does not seem to have appreciated the sarcasm of Mi-la-ras-pa at all. Chang, *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*, vol. 2, pp. 610-613.

141. "rnal 'byor pa khyod kyi smyo lugs de legs byung...." *Mgur-'bum*, folio 312.b.

142. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 3d ed. (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969), pp. 229-230.

143. *Hevajra Tantra*, II.ii.46-51, ed. & trans., David Snellgrove, *The Hevajre Tantra*, vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 93.

144. "phyag rgya mtshan ldan grogs su gces // nyams myong bde ba sems la gces // spyod pa glang chen lta bu gces // de la gces pa rnam gsum mdzod /." *Mgur-'bum*, folio 203.a.

145. Ram Karan Sharma, *Elements of Poetry in the Mahābhārata* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 62-64. See also *Mgur-'bum*, folio 260.b. Compare also the discussion of A. Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, p. 290.

146. "sngags par ming btags dam tshig bud med 'dzin // 'dul bar ming btags btsun chung 'doms la shud // thabs lam ming btags nal phrug 'phreng ba khrid...." *Nga* 9.a-b. *Thabs-lam*, or *thabs-lam smad* refers to ritualized sexual intercourse.

147. *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, Introduction by E. Gene Smith, pp. 1-2.

148. Edward C. Dimock, Jr., *The Place of the Hidden Moon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 26-27. Earlier religious traditions structured around antisocial, "polluted" behaviour also existed in India, notably the Pāśupatas, imitators of "beastly" behaviour. Mystical singing does not seem to have been one of their characteristics, however. Daniel Ingalls calls them "shamans *manqués*." Daniel H. Ingalls, "Cynics and Pāśupatas: The Seeking of Dishonor," *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 55, no. 4 (Oct. 1962), pp. 295-296.

149. Dimock, *The Place of the Hidden Moon*, p. 167.

150. *Ibid*., p. 115

151. See ch. 2, footnote 91.

152. Dimock, *The Place of the Hidden Moon*, pp. 251-253. The more common Hindī word for madness, *pāgal*, is probably related to Sanskrit *vyākula*, meaning "deranged" or "disordered."

153. On one such minstrel group, the *ma-ṇi-pa*, see R.A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), pp. 324-326.

154. The most complete bibliography of collections of Tibetan folk songs and music to date is that of Peter Crossley-Holland, "The State of Research in Tibetan Folk Music," *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 11, no. 2 (May, 1967), pp. 181-187.

155. N. Norbu Dewang, "Musical tradition of the Tibetan people, Songs in dance measure," *Orientalia Romana, 2* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, p. 207.

156. For a more complete discription of this mystical physiology, see

Snellgrove, trans., *The Hevajra Tantra*, vol. 1, pp. 27-39.

157. "dga' ba bzhi mgrin pa long (sic) spyod kyi gnas su phyin pas rdo rje'i glu'i mdzod dang shugs su rdol ba." *Mgur-'bum*, folio 151.b.

158. See the introduction to song number 12 (*Kha* 10.b).

159. "kha ru glu chung len pa de // snang ba dpe char shar ba yin //." *Mgur-'bum*, folio 103.b.

160. "rnal 'byor mi la ras pa dang / gnas lugs ngang nas glu gcig len /" *Mgur-'bum*, folio 112.b. So also with Gtsang-smyon-pa, who wrote, "this little song which appeared in my heart, if it pleases you, you may memorize it." (nyams la shar ba'i glu chung 'di // 'thad na nyams su blangs pas chog //." (Lha-btsun) Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, *Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu slong g.yo'a ba*, folio 38.a.

161. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, pp. 321-322, 400, footnote 9.

162. R.A. Stein, *L'Épopée Tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), p. 363.

163. See Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, ch. 7, pp. 317-416 for a comprehensive discussion of the parallels between the bardic, shamanic, and other traditions with respect to costumery, symbolism, etc. See also Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, 2d print. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), ch. 4, pp. 145-181.

164. "brtul zhugs spyod pa." *Mgur-'bum*, folios 156.b, 155.a. "Dka' ba spyod pa." *Mgur-'bum*, folios 161.b, 256.b, etc.

165. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Folk Songs from Gyantse and Western Tibet*, 2d ed. (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1966), pp. 14-15.

166. For example, J. Bacot, et al., *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940), p. 116.

167. N. Norbu Dewang, "Musical Tradition of the Tibetan people. Songs in dance measure," *Orientalia Romana 2*, pp. 205-347.

168. Marion H. Duncan, *Love Songs and Proverbs of Tibet* (London: Mitre Press, 1961). Charles A. Bell, *The People of Tibet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 170-176. Tucci, *Tibetan Folk Songs from Gyantse*, pp. 29-32. See also Jeanette M. Snyder, "Tshig Kyag, A Tibetan Alternate Song Competition" (Master's Thesis, University of Washington, Seattle, 1968).

169. *Ka* 112.b-113.a. The six syllable, four line format was also used for political and propagandistic writing. I have seen one in three stanzas, called *rang grol gzhas* "Poem of Freedom," probably written around 1950, urging Tibetans to beware of the Communist Chinese, to drop their differences and unite in national unity. *Brtse ba'i snying gtam bka' rgya ma* (n.p. [?Tibet Freedom Press], n.d.), last page, unnumbered.

170. *Ga* 20.a-b, 23.a-b. See also *Ka* 160.b-161.a.

171. G. Tharchin, ed., *A Song of Lhasa Memories and a Poem in Alphabetical Order* (Kalimpong: Tibet Mirror Press, 1965).

172. *Mgur-'bum*, folios 291.a-292.b.

173. "khyod 'jig rten 'di yi so nam mkhan // nga skye ba gtan gyi so (90.a) nam mkhan // ston thog su mang blta yang blta // nam phugs su skyid 'gran yang 'gran //." *Mgur-'bum*, folios 89.b-90.a.

174. "ngas ltogs kyis dogs nas zas cig btsal // zas ni chos nyid ting 'dzin zas // da ltogs kyis dogs pa nga le med // ngas skom gyi dogs nas btung ba btsal // btung ba dran shes bdud rtsi'i chang // da skom gyis dogs pa nga la med //." *Mgur-'bum*, folio 40.a. Another beautiful song of this variety dealing with house building is found at *Mgur-'bum*, folio 46.b.

175. See ch. 2, footnote 153.

Part II

Analysis of the Xylograph and Language of the Biography

Analysis and Dating of the Xylograph

The text of the four volume biographical collection at our disposal is a microfilm copy in the University of Washington Far Eastern Library, number B1-4, reproduced from an original xylograph belonging to the British Museum (MS #19999s10). The folio measurements of the original are 48 X 7.5 cm, and of the printed portion 44.3 X 5.4 cm, with six lines per side, except for the introductory folios of each part. The parts are ordered consecutively *Ka*, *Kha*, *Ga*, *Nga*, individually paginated, and each with a separate title. Volume *Ka*, the part recently translated by Stein,[1] contains 169 folia and bears the title *Rnal 'byor pa'i ming can Kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar byung tshul lhug par smras pa zhib mo'i rtsing mo ha le ho le sna zin spu zin nas bkod pa ces bya ba bzhugs so*. It contains an editor's colophon and three *gsol-'debs*, one of which is dated. Volume *Kha*, translated in part here, contains 81 folia and bears the title *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar gsung 'bum rgya mtsho las dad pa'i ku shas chu thigs tsam blangs pa ngo mtshar bdud rtsi'i zil mngar ces bya ba bzhugs so*. It contains a separate editor's colophon. Volume *Ga* contains 74 folia and has the title *Rnal 'byor pa'i ming can kun dga' legs pa'i nyams la shar ba'i phral gyi chos spyod 'dra dang nyams 'char di byung ma byung bris pa skyag gtad gang yang med pa 'ga' zhig bzhugs so*. As the title indicates, it contains various writings of a religious nature appearing in the mind of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, free of profanity. We gather from this, as from an examination of the four volumes as a whole, that the most vulgar episodes, so frequently related by modern Tibetans, have been edited out of this collection. Volume

Nga is the shortest of the four, with only 29 folia, having the title Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug kun dga' legs pa'i gsum 'bum thor bu bzhugs so. This volume almost certainly did not form part of the original collection, for in the colophon to volume Ka, the editor, Mon-ban smyon-pa, speaks of his collection as containing three volumes.[2] The first volume is supposed to contain the most authentic material, either written by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs himself or otherwise known to be pure. The editor gives us the impression that the events are largely in proper chronological order. Volume Kha is said to contain other material which he collected from the disciples of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs who had written the events down. He feels that this material is less authentic with respect to chronology, and has therefore collected it in a separate volume. Finally, Ga contains those fragments of text which give no indication of their origin or other information. The editor promises to annotate these fragments, supplying missing titles, and so forth. This explains why certain of the events and songs in volume Ga are preceded by interlinear notations, such as the one at Ga 40.a, which reads legs bshad 'brug gi sgra dbyangs zab mo'i rnga chen ces bya ba, "The dragon-voiced song of excellent statement, called Great Drum of Profundity."[3]

In addition, volume Nga was obviously the work of different block cutters, and the orthographic conventions and punctuation markings differ from the other three volumes.

The first three volumes were prepared and their blocks cut at Dri'u-lhas, the project being completed in the eighth month of a Water-dragon year (chu 'brug). The location of the monastery of Dri'u-lhas has proven to be difficult to determine exactly. Nornang has suggested to me that it was near Lhun-rtse and Bra-gor in the Gnyal valley of south-eastern Tibet, for he recalled hearing that name mentioned when he fled through that area towards

India, in 1959. This is now confirmed by a catalogue of Tibetan printing establishments recently reprinted in India. Entry number fifty-one says, "near Lhun-rtse, in the monastic establishment of Dre'u-lhas, are the collected works and biography of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs; from *Ka* through *Nga* there is a total of 353 pages."[4] This should probably be taken as the final word on the subject, and we have located this monastery on the accompanying map accordingly.

The colophon of volume *Kha* says that the texts for that part were compiled by a certain Ba-dzra dhi-ggri bha-dra (*Rdo-rje- ? -bzang-po), at the estate of Lho-mos-rab-brtan in the Dogs-sde valley. Nornang tells me that this valley is just north of Lha-sa. This need not be in conflict with the colophon of volume *Ka*, for the compilation and printing of the texts need not necessarily have been done at the same place. Perhaps this also explains why the editor of *Ka* appointed one of his own disciples, A-rtha-si-ddhi-dha-rmā-wa-rdha (Don-grub chos-'phel) to act as supervisor of the project of preparing the blocks.[5]

The dating of the xylograph blocks is intimately involved with the problem of determining the dates of 'Brug-pa Kun'legs himself. Only two dates of any detail are given in the entire four volume collection, a Water-dragon year for the cutting of the blocks, and the date of a *gsol-'debs* or reverential praise contained in the editor's colophon to *Ka*. There we read that "I who have the name Rdo-rje, on the first month of the Earth-female-ox year, ...on an astrologically auspicious day, have written this *gsol-'debs* to make clear my faith."[6] Reading this colophon as a whole, there seems no reason for doubting that this Rdo-rje was the same person as Mon-ban smyon-pa, the rebirth of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, and acknowledged editor of the texts. He is probably also identical with the signed compiler of volume *Kha*, *Rdo-rje - ? -bzang-po. The other clue in the texts is the *gsol-'debs* written by Padma-dkar-po, whose dates are 1527-1592. Also, since 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was a second cousin of the fourteenth abbot of Ra-lung, Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal (1463-1538), we would expect their dates to be roughly the same. E. Gene Smith has recently given the dates of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs as 1455-1529, but without naming his source.[7] I am almost certain that he based himself on two recent Tibetan works published in India, by T. G. Dhongthog and Dudjom Jigdrel Yeshay Dorjee, for it was with reference to these that he supplied Stein with the dates 1455-1529, in a written communication.[8] But this was inaccurate, for neither work gives a death date for 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. The book by Dhongthog, with the English title *Important Events in Tibetan History*, simply states that he was born in the Wood-pig year of 1455.[9] The work by Dudjom rin-po-che, basically a history of the Rnying-ma-pa sect, says that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was 53 at the beginning of the ninth 60-year cycle, and that he was born in a Wood-pig year.[10] This also corresponds to 1455. Since Padma-dkar-po died in 1592, we may suppose that the *gsol-'debs* of Rdo-rje written in *sa-mo-glang,* corresponds either to 1529 or 1589. Perhaps modern writers have confused the date of this *gsol-'debs* with that of the death of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, or else believed that it was written in the year of his death. This is impossible, however, since the author was the rebirth of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. Given these facts, and the arguments developed by Stein,[11] we should probably accept this *gsol-'debs* as having been written in 1589, when the editor might have been about sixty years old. The *chu-'brug* year for the cutting of the blocks would then be 1592. Thus, temporarily at least, the dates of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs should be given as 1455-?1529. Subsequent research will probably establish these with more precision.[12]

Grammar and Language of the Text

The grammar, language, and orthography of these texts is both interesting and difficult, from many points of view. Atypically of the Tibetan rnam-thar or biographical genre in general, a large percentage of this collection consists of dialogue, written in the colloquial speech of central and southern Tibet of the sixteenth century. The vocabulary shares much in common with the biography of Mi-la-ras-pa by Gtsang-smyon-pa, but differs considerably with respect to grammar. This may in part be attributed to the excellent scholarship of Gtsang-smyon-pa, but more importantly to the manner in which our four volume collection was collected and edited. We have no reason to doubt that we are dealing with a collection of oral songs and narratives, written down perhaps in part by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs himself, but mostly by his disciples and patrons. The editor himself writes that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs spoke fluently in the dialects of various regions, using their peculiar grammar, vocabulary and exclamatory words.[13] My own informants have confirmed this on various occasions, identifying one word or another as being Gtsang dialect, Lho dialect or Kong dialect for example, though these distinctions are virtually never made in the normally available dictionaries, if they even list the words at all. With respect to grammatical usage, our text seems closer in flavor to the modern colloquial speech than to Classical Tibetan, making extensive use of compounds and colloquial verbal aspect particles, imperatives in -dang and -a, and other features. The 1st person singular personal pronoun nged of the classical language, occasionally found in modern Lha-sa dialect, is the customary 2nd person singular form of the Gtsang dialect even today, a fact not noted in any of the dictionaries, Western or Tibetan. The word is used in both senses by 'Brug-pa Kun'legs, depending on where he is and with whom he is speaking, the reader being expected to appreciate the distinction.

On one occasion, while he was in India, probably Assam or the northern Bengal region, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs addressed his listeners in what purports to be an Indian vernacular, though I have not yet analyzed the passage in terms of any dialects of the period.[14]

Due to the fact that our text is largely devoid of orthographic errors, even in the spelling of relatively uncommon words, I have been reluctant to suggest corrections in the readings, for spelling variants in such texts as ours will certainly prove important for future studies in Tibetan dialectology. Moreover, though many of the dialectical terms are known from other works, much of the colloquial material is entirely new, posing problems even for my informants. Many of these items can be readily identified as being spoken forms because of the lack of prefixed consonants. Exclamatory expressions are normally easily identified, but translated only with difficulty, even as a Tibetan asked to translate "golly gee whiz' into Tibetan would be likely to reply with a blank stare. Such are the problems this text poses, and I do not claim to have overcome even most of them with complete success. Yet certain features of the Tibetan dialects have been dealt with by other scholars, and their conclusions can in some cases be profitably reexamined in light of the corpus of new forms found in our text.

Instances of reduplicative onomatopoeia, both with and without the use of the stem expansion vowel -e, have been found in Tibetan texts from various periods. Such forms seem to be used most extensively in bardic or minstrel type literature, probably in reflection of their colloquial origins.[15] The many types of stem and word expansion have been treated in detail by Uray,[16] and parallels in form and meaning for some of these types can be found in certain Indic languages.[17] Stem triplication and other types of three-syllable units are found in considerable variety in our text. Uray concluded that triplication was originally onomatopoetic in function, later being applied to non-onomatopoetic words to show "the protraction or the lessening intensity of a phenomenon."[18] Thus, whereas *si-li-li* suggests the sound of rain, *hu-ru-ru* means "to stare at with fixed eyes."[19] Such forms always occur in predicative position, at the end of lines of verse in seven, and occasionally six syllables.[20] Since sentences containing them usually have no active verbal forms, Laufer was of the opinion that they had to be interpreted as verbs themselves.[21] Uray rejected this, saying that they could also be interpreted as nominal predicates.[22] I think that the most important point in this regard is that these forms are strictly limited to final position in lines of verse. Examples of this usage are found in the Tun-huang documents also.[23] Through the centuries, then, this format assumed a frozen character, being used as a poetic formation of highly restricted usage and ambiguous grammatical function. My Tibetan informants often disagreed about the meaning of the same triplication. Mr. Surkhang was of the opinion that many of these triplications used by 'Brug-pa Kun'legs were totally random and made no contextual sense other than to give emphasis to the subject and fill out the rhythm of the verse.

Another related word expansion is that of the type *shigs-se-shigs*, a type of stem duplication with an intercalated syllable -Ce-, where C represents the final consonant of the preceding morpheme. Uray termed this formation "stem duplication denoting diversity-indistinctness in verbs,"[24] to imply that it constituted an active verb stem with a built-in deverbative adverbial element derived from the same stem. I agree with him on this interpretation, but would note that since these forms almost always occur in the same poetic location as the triplicated forms noted above, we are dealing with another fixed structure of poetic composition, not to be interpreted as any definite part of speech. The interesting intercalated syllable -Ce- is probably also to be related to the adverbial and diminutive suffix *-e*, with a variant form *-e-ba*.[25] If the stem has a final consonant, the final may geminate, giving the suffix the form -Ce-ba. In addition to the examples sited by Uray, I have noted *nag-rog-ge 'dug*,[26] *rnying-se-ba*,[27] *brdzus-se-ba byas*,[28] and others from various sources.

There is another type of adverbial diminutive form in our text which has not been previously noted in other studies, having the form *-yal-le*. Of the three instances in our materials it occurs twice with adjectival stems and once with a verbal stem. *Skya-yal-le* is said to mean "whitish," and *se-yal-le* (probably<*ser-yal-le*) "yellowish."[29] The form *za-yal-le* is more difficult of interpretation, if in fact it is derived from the verb *za-ba*, "to eat."[30] Perhaps it should be related to *za-khu*, a discharge resulting from venereal disease, or to the common reduplicated form *za-zi* meaning "noisy," "confused." The suffix itself suggests an origin in the verb *yal-ba*, "to diminish," and a relationship with the various forms *yal-yal*, *yal-yol*, *yal-yul*, all denoting states of ambiguity.

All of these reduplicative formations have been collected in the glossary at the end of my study, along with others not cited here. In my translation these have been translated rather freely, as I think the sense demands. Exclamations and other emphatic constructions have occasionally been translated, but more often merely given in transliteration with exclamation point. Often these expressions consist of totally unrecognizable elements such as *a-la-la-sing-ma!*[31] Others seem to use negative particles to express positive emphasis, for example sems ma dga' ri na a'u!, which I have translated as "he certainly is happy!"[32] One exclamatory phrase occurs with considerable frequency in these texts but with differing orthographic forms; this is swo swo, occasionally written swau swau, or in contracted form simply swāu. My informants have agreed with Stein's interpretation that it is a cry of glory and of victory, shouted when one reaches the top of a mountain pass.[33] 'Brug pa Kun'legs uses it in the exclamation swo swo gyis dang!, where gyis is the imperative of bgyid-pa and dang the imperative particle. He uses it to call attention to what he is about to say, "swo! swo! Let it be known!", or perhaps "Let it be heard!"

Most of the occurances of colloquial compounding, will be commented upon in the footnotes to the translation. In some cases these terms were unclear even to my informants, or else they would supply occasionally contradictory interpretations. In these instances the translation should be regarded as provisional. In general, considering the nature of the text and language, I have tried to keep my translation as literal as possible, though in many places this was not always possible. A thorough grammatical analysis of this text is a task that still needs to be done. In the meanwhile, however, a translation such as this will hopefully still prove useful for the study of the literature and social philosophy of the period, and of the tradition of saintly madmen in particular.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Stein, *Vie et Chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le Yogin*.

[2] *Ka* 169.a.

[3] Compare also *Ga* 25.b.

[4] "lhun rtse khul dre'u lhas bla brang du / 'brug smyon kun dga' legs pa'i gsung rnam ka nas / nga bar la shog grangs / 353." *Gangs can gyi ljongs su bka' dang bstan bcos sogs kyi glegs bam spar gzhi ji ltar yod pa rnams nas dkar chag spar thor phyogs tsam du bkod pa phan bde'i pad tshal 'byed pa'i nyin byed*, ed. Ngawang Gelek Demo, *Three Karchacks* (New Delhi, 1970), folio 21.b. This is to be distinguished from the Lhun-tse rdzong in Bhutan, located according to the map of Peissel between Jakar ('Ja'-dkar) and Tashiyangtse (Bkra-shis-yang-rtse), at about 91° 25' E. longitude. Michel Peissel, *Lords and Lamas of Bhutan* (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1970), inside cover. Lhuntse described on pp. 165-170.

[5] *Ka* 169.a. The Tibetanized form of this name was suggested by Sde-gzhung rin-po-che.

[6] "rdo rje'i ming can gyis sa mo glang lo'i zla ba dang po...gza'skar 'phrod sbyor bzang po'i nyin rang nyid gsol ba 'debs pa'i dad pa'i gsal 'debs su bkod pa yin." *Ka* 167.a.

[7] *The Life of the Saint of Gtsang*, Introduction by E. Gene Smith, p. 3.

[8] Stein, *Vie et Chants*, p. 17.

[9] (Gdong thog sprul ming) Ngag-dbang theg-mchog bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, *Gangs can bod kyi lo rgyus dang 'brel ba'i sngon byung lo tshigs nges rnyed mkhas pa'i ngag rgyan ces bya ba bzhugs so* (Delhi: Ala Press, 1968), pp. 27-28.

10. Bdud-'joms 'jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje, *Bod snga rabs pa gsang chen rnying ma'i chos 'byung legs bshad gsar pa'i dga' ston gyi dbu 'dren gzhung don le'u'i ngos 'dzin bzhugs* (Kalimpong: Mani Printing Works, 1967), p. 798.

11. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, pp. 25f.

12. One problem with the date 1529 arises in that in one of the stories translated below, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs is said to have sung a song at the New Year's festival at 'Bras-spungs Dga'-ldan pho-brang, in the presence of the second Dalai Lama (1475-1542). Ferrari suggests, however, that the Dga'-ldan pho-brang was not built until 1530. A. Ferrari, *Mk'yen Brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, p. 98, fn. 78.

13. *Ka* 169.a.

14. See below, pp. 152-153

15. An excellent collection of such forms from the Ge-sar texts has been compiled by R.A. Stein, *L'Épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), pp. 395-399.

16. G. Uray, "Duplication, Gemination and Triplication in Tibetan," *Acta Orientalia*, vol. 4, part 1-3 (1955), pp. 177-244. *Idem*, "The Suffix -E in Tibetan," *Acta Orientalia*, vol. 3, part 3 (1953), pp. 229-244.

17. Anatole Lyovin, "A Study of Reduplicative Onomatopoeia in India," *Phi Theta Papers*, Publications of the Honor Society in Oriental Languages of the University of California, Berkeley, vol. 11 (Dec. 1968), pp. 15-35.

18. Uray, "Duplication, Gemination and Triplication," p. 240.

19. *Ibid*.

20. Stein, *La Civilisation Tibétaine*, pp. 215-217.

21. Berthold Laufer, *Klu 'Bum Bsdus pa'i Snying Po*, Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, no. 11 (Helsinki, 1898), p. 108.

22. Uray, "Duplication, Gemination and Triplication," p. 239.

23. See above, footnote 166 See also Stein, *La Civilisation Tibétaine*, p. 217.

24. Uray, "Duplication, Gemination and Triplication," p. 212.

25. Uray, "The Suffix -E in Tibetan," pp. 230, 234.

26. (Gtsang smyon He-ru-ka) Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan, *Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar thar pa dang thams can mkhyen pa'i lam ston zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, ed. J. W. De Jong, *Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar, texte Tibétain de la vie de Milarépa* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1959), p. 164.

27. David Snellgrove, ed. and trans., *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, vol. 2, p. 230. In his glossary, Snellgrove has appropriately suggested the translation "oldish." We would expect to see *rnying-nge-ba*, following our rule. The use of *-se-ba* suggests colloquial standardization of this formation.

28. *Nga* 25.a.

29. *Kha* 17.b.

30. *Ibid*.

31. *Kha* 27.b.

32. *Kha* 26.b.

33. Stein, *Vie et Chants*, p. 216.

Part III: Translation

[1.a-1.b]

[1.a] A Few Drops Gathered from the Ocean of the Biography and
Collected Works of the Lord of Yogis Kun-dga'
Legs-pa by the Kusha grass of Faith,
Sweet Droplets of the Marvelous Nectar.

[1.b] Praise to the teachers! (1)
Bearing the shield of patient love and compassion,
He leads his hound to destroy the five afflictive poisons;
He holds the bow and arrow of emptiness, the union of
wisdom and means;
I bow to the feet of Kun-dga' legs-pa the Mad 'Brug-pa.

The incarnation of Sa-ra-ha-pa the siddha, the manifestation of Rdo-rje-'chang,[1] because he knows deceptive appearances as devoid of truth, he is without hypocrisy and behaves naturally, unrestrainedly, and as he pleases. The pronouncements of this great siddha Kun-dga' legs-pa, the crazy 'Brug-pa, a harvest for this life and for future rebirths, which have benefited both the religious and secular sphere, these shall I write down, exactly as the siddha himself spoke them.

An account of the periods of my life's history, factual and correct, from my birth to my daily activities and down to my ultimate death and farewell feast, would be an ordinary piece of writing indeed. Except for the dry statements of the type which I used to exhort my disciples to the Dharma whenever they questioned me, and the every-day practices of the religious life which have proved useful, there is little need to write of the other trivia of my life, what food I ate this morning, where I defecated this evening, and so forth. [2.a] Though I can't prevent a high bla-ma or my patrons from writing down every idle remark I might make in my travels about the country, yet in this evil day and age people have turned away (from religion). The record of secular events achieves notoriety, while no concern is shown for useful events in the religious sphere. If one would achieve recognition even among the dull-witted, and further the goals of sentient beings, he would have to be one skilled in presenting the Dharma in accord with different levels of intellect. I have little taste for treatises and the like, written merely to make a living, or out of desire to be a scholar. The present (book) of mine is gathered a bit here, a bit there, as I go along, without organization. And because it relies heavily on profanity, it should not be seen by those men of perverse views who, possessing just a sliver of wisdom and no knowledge of what is permitted and what forbidden, look down on the Practice of the Secret Mantra[2] and hold the Vinaya[3] in contempt. Nor let it be shown in border countries, those regions where the Dharma has not spread. Were it shown to people there, they would lose their faith (in me), [2.b] at such words as "cunt" and "cock," not understanding that essentially they have a good meaning.[4] Let it be done thus, for, regardless of whether one does good or bad, the Buddha does not reprimand; and as for the statements (about me) of ignorant men,(I say) "oṁ āḥ hūṁ!"[5]

Once when I had gone to a small monastery, a cow had been killed for the graduation party of a certain Master of Mantras.[6] One person was carrying in the pieces of lung, another was carrying the pieces of heart, and still another was carrying in the large cuts of meat. Several sngags-pa said, "Because of our pledges taken on The Heart-Guide of the Mka'-'gro-ma,[7] we

[2.b-3.a]

cannot eat the hearts of animals." Pushing it aside they sat without eating. So I said, "The real meaning of that (pledge) is that one should not deceive sentient beings! Otherwise wouldn't those doing the mind purifying (blo-sbyong) meditations not eat lungs (glo-ba)?[8] And wouldn't those meditating the illusory world (sgyu-ma) not eat sausage (rgyu-ma)? And wouldn't those practicing the doctrines of the Lower Means Path (thabs lam smad)[9] not eat meat from the hind-quarter (smad sha)? Your ignorant statements are quite as foolish as this." My speaking thus proved beneficial.

Another time, at 'Ongs-stod Park in Lha-sa, several monks of different sects had gathered. To me they said, "You, Chos-rje Kun-legs-pa, to whom belongs that style of dress of you and your disciples?"[10] Here the Dge-bshes Nam-mkha'i-snying-po said, "Is it so that if (one's behavior) be in accord with the Dharma whatever style of dress one adopts is proper?" To this I replied in these words:

"If one has taken orders in the doctrine of the Bhagavant, his own style of dress is fine. To give an example, when a servant addresses his master, whatever the latter says must be done. But nowadays the Bhagavant is not here (on earth). It is the case that,

[3.a] 'Every bla-ma his own religious practice,
Every religious practice its own style of dress.[11] (2)

Hence, the teacher Chos-rje Lha-btsun-pa and his disciples each wear a long cloak without a collar. On their heads they wear a Meditation Hat, so that they look unusually strange like a vase whose top is smeared with (a band of) red ochre. The teacher Rje Gtsang-smyon-pa[12] and his disciples wear their pants long. They don't blow their thigh-bone trumpets fiercely, so it sounds like 'sbu sbu;' they thus appear stately, like great men. Again,

[3.a-3.b]

the teacher Rje Dbus-smyon-pa[13] and his disciples wear their pants very short and part their hair off to the sides. The blowing of their thigh-bone trumpets is unusually fast, like *'hod hod tshag tshag tsag tsag,'* which I find delightful. Then there are those Rnying-ma-pa teachers and disciples who wear long upper jackets, and over their pants they wrap their skirts with about eighteen folds.[14] The hair of their mustaches, beards and side-burns glistens with beer and barley flour. They wear the *Orgyan-paṇ-zhu,*[15] with a mirror about the size of a door fixed at the peak. So when you meet them, they seem heavy-set, awesome, but pleasant. Then again, the White-clad ones (*dkar-po-pa*)[16] make their hair into nice braids, and put them up in a charming bun on top of their heads. They wrap their white skirts on with about a hundred folds. Tied on the outside of these dangle pen-cases, ink-pot cases, seal cases and so on. With mirrors the size of a winnowing basket fastened on their chest they approach, the tongues of their boots going *'sil-sil sprug-sprug,'* and their tread going *'sho-thab sho-thab.'* So [3.b.] they look unusual, and their dress seems very exalted. Moreover, the nuns of Ha-lung[17] in Yar-klungs dress all alike, with baggy, dark brown pants, pleated all around. On the outside their jackets are brightly colored and their custom is to roll up the corners of their long cloaks (when walking). They wear homespun wool *'bar zhwa,*[18] as big as bags, with blue cotton peaks, and these are flattened on their heads. Each has a knife with colored handle stuck in her waistband, set with a bit of amber. When they approach I find myself excited and falling in love with them. So others cannot say for certain that 'Such and such is the style of dress of you Kun-legs and your disciples;' 'nor, happily, can they say that it is not; let this be known:

[3.b-4.a]

> Whatever a man might do, if he is devoted to the Dharma, (3)
> be it known, even if he wears the clothes of a woman it will be handsome, be it known; but if he harbors evil thoughts, even if he wear a cloak of gold, it is for him a thing of filth![19] Let it be known!'

Because I spoke thus no-one had anything to reply, and I again spoke, "As for me, I have little time or affection for pointless talk. This place known as Lha-sa is in reality the mansion of Spyan-ras-gzigs, though nowadays we have defiled it by our *karma*, so that it appears as a human city, and the golden statues as statues of mud. Still, the saying that the people who are born here are *dpa'-bo*, and those born females are *dpa'-mo* is true.[20] So I shall circumambulate the city,[21] but those who are born here, or who come here but do not circumambulate, have deranged minds, are scatterbrained. And yet they go to bed thinking that, since they are from Lha-sa, they are either *dpa'-bo* or *dpa'-mo*; but they should consider (the following story) because they do not know whether lord (Gshin-rje) Chós-rgyal is listening secretly or not![22]

Praise to the teachers, the high protective deities, and the Three Precious![23] Now to the north of Lha-sa [4.a] there lived an old woman named Bu-khrid. Her son was a stutterer (*dha-ka dhi-ka*) but had great faith and was fond of reading books. His aged mother nagged him incessantly, "You son of a beggar! You sissy![24] What good can come of these old books? When I have gone to hell you will be unable to get me out! With a clever daughter one's needs are taken care of, whereas sons will not obey orders. We are destined to live on garbage!" expressing thus her anger. At first I treated her with great tact, giving her a blessed object and presents. Thereafter

[4.a-4.b]

she gained faith (in me), and she approached me in the inner courtyard, bringing a cup of beer and a serving of tea. "These sons of yours are pleasant; they do whatever they are ordered.[25] This rotten son of mine just sits reciting religious texts to himself, without doing any work. In the future he won't be able to lead me up (from hell)," she said. So I said to her, "Listen mother, let this be known!" and I told this tale.[26]

"Formerly there was a *siddha* named 'Dre-rgyal-ba'i-blo-gros who had perfected the evocation (ritual) of Rdo-rje-'jigs-byed (Vajrabhairava).[27] A man came to inform him when his mother died, and he immediately went. She had died while still weaving, behind the house, and he sat meditating the *bskyed rim*[28] before her corpse. While his mother was at that time wandering through *bar do*, her *lhan-skyes-lha* recounted her virtues and her (*lhan-skyes-*)*'dre* recounted her sins.[29] Being not in agreement, they went before one of the bridge-guards of Gshin-rje for him to render a decision.

'I have no competence in the matter between you two,' he said. However, [4.b] if you cross over that bridge there is a city called Iron Skull. Therein there is the one named Gshin-rje chos-kyi-rgyal-po, so let us go to him.' The three joined together and crossed over the bridge of the river of death, which flowed red, and came into the presence of Gshin-rje. He made his decision, 'Let us look into the mirror!' Because they looked, the old woman's sins were seen to make up the greater part, and the *lhan-cig-skyes-pa'i lha* went off to some unknown region. The old woman was put into an iron house where, if she leaned a little to the right, a grey, iron dog bared his fangs at her. Or, if she made a slight movement to the left, a grey, copper dog bared his fangs at her. Then, there came to the city of Gshin-rje the cry '*dir dir*!' Chos-kyi-rgyal-po asked, 'Whose army is coming?'

Someone replied, 'Dre-rgyal-ba'i-blo-gros is coming leading seventy-five lords of Gtsang-ris.' The lords of death were frightened, becoming utterly unable to look at the old woman. After that there again arose great wails and shouts, and someone said, ''Dre-rgyal-ba'i-blo-gros is coming leading the eight classes of worldly lha ma srin.'[30] Again, out of fright, the lords of death were unable to look at the old woman, and they became afflicted by nearly falling down. When the cry of 'dir' again arose, he asked whose army was coming, and someone replied, 'It is the army of 'Jam-dpal Ya-man-ta-ka coming.' Some fainted, others collapsed. The old woman escaped from the iron house, regained life and returned (to earth), so it is said. You have everything you need for the satisfaction of your desire that your son lead you up (from hell). For if a son proves to be worthwhile, like La-phogs-skyes[31] and 'Dre-rgyal-ba'i-blo-gros, [5.a] he will lead his mother up from the regions of hell. But if he proves worthless then his life will be spent under the control of a wife. As a result he will commit nothing but sins, striking his parents and troubling their minds. A portion of this will bear its fruit upon the parents and they will go to hell. Both this life and the next are thus miserable.[32] On the other hand, oh woman, whatever this daughter of your's does, whether in the religious or worldly sphere, it will be good. As for myself, can I have great hope in this son of mine Zhing-skyong 'brug-grags? I do not need him to lead me up (from hell) in the future. I think that it will be sufficient for him to merely take care of himself. Old woman, do not waste your time in idle talk! Recite your ma-ṇi (prayers)!" I said.[33]

The old woman replied, "Reciting ma-ṇi is profitless. My husband used to be devoted to the Dharma, and night after night he would sit there, reciting ma-ṇi endlessly. Yet he was seized by a chronic illness, and for a long time regardless of what ritual offerings were made, nothing was beneficial, and he passed away. Yet another man is healthy and lives a long life, no matter how many irreligious deeds he may have committed!" she said, and sat crying.

So I spoke these words, "Old woman, you are a foolish chatterer! What is the good of speaking of your husband? Of course your husband grew old, old woman. What means are there to keep a man from dying when he grows old? Those inclined toward religion, are diligent in virtue, who circumambulate, and are resolute in (saying) their *ma-ni*, have many diseases and illnesses in this lifetime, and they seem unsuccessful in their work. As the deeds of former lives ripen in future (lives), people must therefore undergo the misery of rebirth in a lower existence, such [5.b] as in hell. The obscurations of those inclined toward religion having become smaller on account of their virtue, they ripen in this lifetime (as opposed to a future one), which is a sign that they will not have to experience (misery) in the future. Even holy men, no matter what vows they take, who are mindful of (the uncertainty of the time of) death, and who work for the goals of sentient beings, yet become angered on account of obstructions to their religious inclinations. The proverb

'The more profound the religion (*chos*),
The more profound the devil (*bdud*)' (4)

is true. The evil *bdud* exist, putting anger into the minds of those who practice the Dharma. Yet one whose mind is firm on the (three) precious jewels knows that his future is certain. Now, those who are fond of sin, or abuse their authority, or make no efforts toward virtue, no matter how much they do this, seem to be the ones who in this lifetime are contented and

[5.b-6.a]

rich. 'Those who have some surplus of merit, the result of virtue in a former lifetime ripening in this, will in the future have to go to an unpleasant region called "Door-less Iron House", as a result of their unvirtuous acts.' This is a common saying. Others, whose eyes have gone blind out of jealousy, come to see by their having recited *ma-ṇi*, and in this lifetime get 'conch-teeth.'[34] By doing circumambulations their stooped backs become straight, and the lame become able to throw away their crutches. With my own eyes I have seen these great benefits, and I have heard of many more with my own ears. There have been many who, because they were religiously inclined, who prepared offerings to the Buddha, who made butter-lamp offerings, underwrote the copying of canonical books, did services and recitations, or who caused others to read (the scriptures), who performed services for either entire monastic communities or even for a single (monk), who thereby came to great wealth in later life, [6.a] being also happy and virtuous, though in their early life they were poor."

"What you say is true," she said.

Right after my speech, many holy men who had come from there (Lha-sa) were gathered together to meet the Jo-bo.[35] "Chos-rje Kun-legs-pa," they said. "Sing for us a song which will be a complete example of how to traverse the stages of the path."[36] So I spoke the following,

"*A'o*, on the horse of the Thought of Enlightenment,[37] (5)
I have determined to run the race of benefit for others.
Administering divine consolation to the Six Classes,[38] *a'o*,
Henceforth shall this yogi dwell in Saṁsāra, oh little ones![39]
This is the biography[40] of one who furthered the goals of
others, and this shall I continue.

[6.a]

I, whose (every) perception is joyous, shall do this.

My own body as the King of the Gods, a'o,
Has seized the stronghold of the immutable.
The Mothers and Mkha'-'gro-ma[41] have fallen in love with me, a'o,
Henceforth shall I meditate all appearance as divine body, oh little ones![42]
This is the biography of one of (such) unreal perceptions, and this shall I continue.
I, whose (every) perception is joyous, shall do this.

To my perfect teachers, a'o,
I have performed the devotions of no particular doctrine.
All (sentient beings) who appear are my fundamental teachers, a'o;
Henceforth shall I perform (for them) the devotions of no particular doctrine, oh little ones;
This is the biography of an excellent teacher, and this shall I continue.
I, whose (every) perception is joyous, shall do this.

I have achieved non-discursive mystical illumination,
And have lost (notions of) grasped and grasping, a'o;
I have come to see Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as a show of Uniform Flavor, a'o;
Henceforth shall I maintain this Impassive State[43] of no particular doctrine, oh little ones'
(This is the biography of one whose) teachings are the very heart

[6.a-6.b]

of the Mahāyāna, and this shall I continue.
I, whose (every) perception is joyous, shall do this.

I have assembled the two basic accumulations;[44]
I have offered the wholly pure prayers; [6.b]
Making the praises where there is neither praised nor praiser, a'o,
Henceforth shall I lead the Old Mothers,[45] (the creatures of) the
Six Classes, oh little ones;
This is the biography of one who lacks (the distinction of) actor
and acted upon, and this shall I continue.
I, whose (every) perception is joyous, shall do this."

Thus I sang, and "Thank you" they replied.

On a certain occasion a patron had invited me and my disciples to lha-sa. We stayed there for a day or two, and the lady of the house and her daughter were there too. On the day for fasting[46] the mother said, "This bit of garlic will be all right," and she ate it. For morning and evening (meals) the daughter gave the servants and working men plenty of greens but few wheat dumplings. For lunch there was barley dumplings, stale beans which she ground into small bits, and each person was given a drink of weak beer and a serving of putrid meat. After they had gone, she cooked for herself a (bowl of) hot barley porridge as big as the head of an idiot, filled a clay pot with ghee from freshly-churned butter, and prepared (a vessel) of curds as big as her head. On the other hand she was very attentive to me and my disciples, yet (with the others) she was stingy, tight-fisted and greedy. One morning there was a calf which, in lunging for the milk, knocked the woman down and the milk was spilled. Immediately she gave it a kick and killed it. Again, one evening there was a kid which ate the dried barley malt for the beer. Sticking it with the poker she was using to stir the barley, she blinded it. Because she was rich all the villagers and neighbors were always at her beck and call, and so she would set them against one another.

There was a most exceptional *dge-slong* teacher there who, every morning, made *su-rū-pa*, *chu-sbyin*, and other *gtor-ma* without [7.a] pause in between.[47] The house-holder patron was very compassionate and fond of both reciting the scripture and giving charity. Yet he had little control (over his family). One morning this patron said, "Oh reverend sir, please give some religious instruction so that my wife might become more virtuous and more inclined toward the Dharma!" The *bla-ma* also asked (me), "Please explain the benefits which come from making *su-rū-pa* and *gtor-ma*." I told them this story;

"Formerly, there was in India a *dge-slong* named Je-ta-ri Dgra-las-rnam-rgyal. Arriving at a desert region, there were sharp, high-pitched cries, and he went to see. There (he saw) the queen of the *yi-dwags*[48] and her five hundred sons. Their heads were the size of a hill, their necks the size of a horse's tail, their stomaches the size of an ocean and their arms and legs as thin as *'jag-ma* weed.[49] The *ācārya* became compassionate towards them and asked, 'What actions did you do to obtain this form, and how long have you been dwelling here? Where will you be reborn in your next lifetime?' The woman replied, 'In my former lifetime I was a rich woman. At that time, to my children, servants and workmen I gave plenty of bad food, but very little good food. Even to my husband I served very small (amounts of) barley meal. The karmic fruit of my keeping them just on the verge of death and freezing was my being born here. I have dwelled here for 5,500 human years, and in my next rebirth I shall descend into the eight cold hells. Again, as a karmic fruit of that I was born (here) as a rich woman, and I possessed many 'bri, cattle and sheep. I sheared them of much hair and wool before it was the proper shedding [7.b] season. I dressed my servants in just enough clothes that they didn't die. The good clothes I hid in storage. They became eaten up by moths and hide grubs, so I struck at them furiously with a stick and killed them. These sons have a so-called "father," but though thirteen years have passed since he went to Rdo-rje-gdan in search of food, he has not returned. Now my sons are about to die of hunger. Therefore, oh ācārya, I pray that you tell him this information.'

The ācārya replied, 'I don't know him; what does he look like?' 'He is one-eyed, ugly, hair-lipped, has a goiter and is hunch-backed,' she said.

So the ācārya went to Rdo-rje-gdan and, looking about in contemplative equanimity, (saw) a boy monk throw out a considerable amount or gtor-ma barley lumps and gtor-ma water. But the woman's husband could not escape from underneath many thousands of yi-dwags. Later he did escape, and, picking up some dry spit out of the filthy sweepings behind a door, he lay down. Then a dge-bsnyen[51] went 'hug' and spit. He (the father) instantly held forth his cupped hands and caught it. Twenty-one yi-dwags chased after him and, grasping him, they beat him and knocked him down. But that spit was dry also. After that he sat down in the corner of a wall, covered with dust.

'Get up, you! ' the ācārya said. 'What have you done to become such as you are? Where are you going now? Your family is about to die; return

[7.b-8.b]

to them!' The man replied,

'Oh ācārya! In my former lifetime I was a rich woman. At that time, I took a vow of fasting every day, [8.a] and as a result I obtained this body of a man. Yet on the day of the fast I ate meat, beer, garlic and onions. And because my face became smeared with grease I now have an ugly appearance and a bad smell. A sheep came up to eat some roasted barley, and because I struck it with a poker I blinded it, and my being one-eyed is the karmic fruit of that. In my former lifetime, everybody paid much attention to me because I was rich, and because I slandered them the karmic fruit of that is my being hair-lipped. This goiter which encircles my neck is the karmic fruit of my giving my servants just enough food to keep them from freezing, while I, in private, ate a great amount of food. Once, when I was on the roof of my house, my brother came to meet me. My dog bit him and I threw a piece of slate from the roof, which broke the dog's back. My hunched back is the karmic fruit of that. I have been in this rebirth for 5,500 human years and, having passed away, I must be reborn and stay in the hot hells. Is there no remedy for this at all, oh ācārya?'

The ācārya wondered if he should give him his own body, but thinking that that would provide only a small refuge, he performed a su-rū-pa gtor-ma. By means of that the man, his wife and children were all satisfied. All the yi-dwags too became fully satisfied and they said,

'While you are living we shall be happy, oh ācārya, but your dying will put an end to our (good) fortune.'

The ācārya replied, 'Through instructing the disciples of my personal lineage, they will keep you happy (by performing the same rite).' [8.b]

Again the yi-dwags spoke, 'Although we have no roasted barley, please to them!' The man replied,

'Oh *ācārya*! In my former lifetime I was a rich woman. At that time, I took a vow of fasting every day, [8.a] and as a result I obtained this body of a man. Yet on the day of the fast I ate meat, beer, garlic and onions. And because my face became smeared with grease I now have an ugly appearance and a bad smell. A sheep came up to eat some roasted barley, and because I struck it with a poker I blinded it, and my being one-eyed is the karmic fruit of that. In my former lifetime, everybody paid much attention to me because I was rich, and because I slandered them the karmic fruit of that is my being hair-lipped. This goiter which encircles my neck is the karmic fruit of my giving my servants just enough food to keep them from freezing, while I, in private, ate a great amount of food. Once, when I was on the roof of my house, my brother came to meet me. My dog bit him and I threw a piece of slate from the roof, which broke the dog's back. My hunched back is the karmic fruit of that. I have been in this rebirth for 5,500 human years and, having passed away, I must be reborn and stay in the hot hells. Is there no remedy for this at all, oh *ācārya*?'

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'While you are living we shall be happy, oh *ācārya*, but your dying will put an end to our (good) fortune.'

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Again the *yi-dwags* spoke, 'Although we have no roasted barley, please

[8.b]

perform the chu-sbyin gtor-ma.'

So he performed the Jambhala chu-sbyin also," it is said.

"I read this in the gsung-'bum of A-ro Ye-shes-'byung-gnas,[52] where it is said to be quoting from the Sūtra. Unlike her, oh gnas-mo,[53] you were born in a central country[54] through the merit you accumulated in your former life. Even more than that, among those (so born) you were born in Lha-sa, in the presence of the Jo-bo rin-po-che. You have become rich in servants and wealth. Henceforth, then, practice charity! Treat your servants with love! Be happy to give them food and drink! If you do not do so, yours will be the fate of that stingy lady, who beat creatures and stirred up trouble, as I have described. Moreover, oh gnas-mo, you are very clever and beautiful, skilled in trade, soft-spoken, loveable and possessed of all good qualities!" I said.

She praised me highly and had a change of heart, so that when I came back on a later occasion she had become better in every way. The patronized bla-ma also became not only more diligent than before in (performing) the su-rū-pa gtor-ma, but he also became more diligent than before through his understanding of the original benefit.

Let it be known![55]

"For one who has committed sins, (6)
Even Shākya-thub-pa is unable to protect him,
And mighty Spyan-ras-gzigs himself just sits and sits.
But for one who has not committed sins,
There is no fear even of Gshin-rje Chos-rgyal,
And Ra-ksha-glang-mgo himself just sits and sits.[56]
So avoid committing sin! Seek to cultivate virtue!"

[8.b-9.a]

Praise to the holy teachers!
All you market-folk, going to and fro, (7)
I, Kun-dga' legs-pa the Mad 'Brug-pa,
In Sgyu-ma's play [9.a] of illusory appearance,
Beg you who are faithful to listen;
Get away all you who have false views!

Once upon a time I went to Iha-sa, a center of pilgrimage. One morning the *gnas-mo* said to me, "Reverend Kun-legs-pa, do you know how to make beer?"

"*Gnas-mo*, I am no man of little experience! I understand the most difficult Dharma, and you think that brewing beer isn't easier than that?" I said.

"Well, then, how do you make it?" she asked. This is what I said.

"First of all prepare a suitable hearth and cooking pot. Collect your water and fire-wood in the evening. Then get up early the next morning, before the birds have fluttered their wings, and before the asses' cocks have gotten hard.[57] (Fill the pot) with dry barley, free of rocks and beans, up to half a *mtho* [58] below the level of water, and light the fire. Gradually decrease the fire in accordance with the (amount of) water, and stir it up with a good wooden spatula, mixing it from top to bottom. Keep looking to see whether the water is gone or not. When the liquid is rather clear in color[59] keep the fire very small. When the liquid has become whitish,[60] set (the pot) down onto warm ashes and cool it slowly. Then transfer it to the *brdal-phyar*[61] and proceed according to whether it is winter or summer temperature. In winter, just before the heat has escaped, or in the summer, before the cool steam has disappeared, add a little beer starter.[62] Spread it out, mixing it with the collar-bone of a sheep. With a broad-mouthed fermenting vessel the beer vapors are held down comfortably by a fumigant of the smoke of (barley) flour and the smoke of 'khan-pa,[63] and (the ferment) rises quickly. If the fermenting vessel is small-mouthed, the air is constricted and it becomes sour.[64] When fermenting beer, do it so that the gluttons and lushes don't see you. [9.b] Concentrate on yourself as Khro-bo-bdud-rtsi-khyil-ba[65] and utter this spell,

'Oṁ; on the basis of my merit and power, (8)
There are now no defects whatsoever in this;
Whether later it is tasty or not tasty,
Depends chiefly on the merit of the guest's mouth.
Swā-hā!'"

So I brewed some with this spell. After that I shook it up.[66] When picking it up (out of the brdal-phyar) I washed my hands well, and, pouring it into a large crock, added a dash of water. In the morning the spout was cleaned and the top sealed up without any cracks. After three days had passed the mixture was covered with water. I lit a fire just the right size for making tea. I set out a cushion. Thereon I comfortably seated one of my long-haired patrons.[67] After the first serving of tea, when the re-steeped tea was strained out, and when making the offering gtor-ma,[68] I said,

"I serve you! I offer to you! I offer this to the hosts of (9)
bla-ma, yi-dam, mkha'-'gro, chos-skyong and bsrung-ma.[69]
May you bestow blessings and powerful siddhi upon me!
I serve you! I offer to you, the gzhi-bdag[70] of this locale, to the gnas-bdag and their hosts of servants!
I serve you! I offer to you in particular, Ma-cig-dpal-gyi-

[9.b-10.a]

lha-mo, the protectress of the three times, the ruler of the three passions, the chief mkha'-'gro-ma of the three places, the glorious one, 'Dod-khams-dbang-phyug-ma, the incarnation of Dbyangs-can-ma (Skt. Sarasvatī), the protectress appointed by the religious king Srong-btsan-sgam-po and on whom he relied! May you keep watch for the three periods of the day and the three periods of the night! May you bring me good and suppress evil! May I be praised as the leader of all men! May my stallion outrun all others! Be my escort when I leave! Greet me when I return! Be the head tradesman when I go on trade! Be the commander when I go to battle! Be the head robber when I go on a raid! [10.a] Protect the life of the old! Generate good fortune for children! Be my eternal companion and fierce protector!"

Then I made the three phud-gtor, saying, "I offer to you!" Flicking (some) with my fingers, I served him some of the sparkling clear liquid.[71] After that the patron took out from his left side a bag of tea the size of a gunny sack. He put in a yellow tea bowl[72] about one full spor in size and put down two measures. He put down one full spor of black (tea), and when I got this as the price for the tea, I said, "Old lady, the rainbow is really bright!"[73] "You are right," she said, sitting there considerably pleased.

Then one morning, the gnas-mo said, "I must go to Yab-phud estate."[74] She put down four bre of barley and said, "Brew a batch (of beer) with this, Kun-dga' lega-pa." Then she went off, carrying her cold weather clothing. In three days time she returned and asked, "Has the beer risen yet?"

"If it has risen it has risen; if it hasn't risen it hasn't risen.

[10.a-10.b]

It's still in the zhib-ma,"[75] I said.

"You, master, are a good-for-nothing! You knew how, yes, but you didn't cook it!" she said, to which I replied,

"Gnas-mo, it is necessary for me to know how to do all things, but it is not necessary for me to do them. What is achieved by practicing everything one knows? I even know how to kill goats (but I don't do it)!" Then I sang this song,[76]

"Oh gnas-mo, concerned with your own self (only), (10)
Hear without distraction the words of this melody!
In the Maṇḍala of Victory[77] which is my own body,
I have laid out the hearth stones of wisdom and means;[78]
In the spacious vessel of bliss-emptiness,
I pour the water of union samādhi, and
The barley of the three fruitional bodies.[79]
While brewing, brewing the beer of achievement of
  the two goals, [10.b]
The time has passed and I have forgotten to brew
  the gnas-mo's beer.
In the spacious edifice of bodhicitta,
I have spread the three-layered white mat of
  the goals of others;[80]
While calling, calling the patrons of the six
  classes of sentient beings,
The time has passed and I have forgotten to call
  the guests, driving their horses (past the inn).
Upon the hearth devoid of the two extremes,

[10.b]

I have lit the fire of burning wisdom;
While boiling, boiling the good tea of emptiness,
The time has passed and I have forgotten to prepare
the ordinary tea.

So, do you wish me to do everything I know how? I even know how to ride on you, on gnas-mo!"[81] Thus I spoke and continued on my travels.

"To that master of beings, Gtsang-pa rgya-ras, (11)
I offer praise from the depths of my heart.
The Kong glu[82] for New Year's at 'Bras-spungs,
My song of introspection at Skyor-mo-lung,
The ascetic who defeated the logician in debate,
The amusing play of Dge-bshes Nyams-bro,
The story of the two men who were friends,
These and sundry other stories do I know;
Joyous am I, the Crazy 'Brug-pa."

Once I went to 'Bras-spungs Dga'-ldan pho-brang to meet the Rgyal-ba chos-rje Dge-'dun rgya-mtsho.[83] I received a polite greeting, but, as I met him while the New Year's gtor-ma was being performed, I derived no great sense of happiness or otherwise therefrom. Then one of his personal attendants, a particularly eminent and elderly dka'-bcu-pa[84] who was seated near His Holiness, said to me,

"Grub-thob Kun-dga' legs-pa! Sing aloud to today's New Year's convocation and to the countenance of lord Spyan-ras-gzigs one of those introspective songs that arise in your heart, and which bring benefit both to the Dharma and the secular world."

[10.b-11.a]

"By all means I must do so," I said. [11.a] "To the Buddhas in general I must offer a song. Ngag-dbang-lha-mo in particular is fond of songs; and since today is the occasion of the gtor-ma to 'Dod-khams-dbang-phyug-ma, I shall offer one with musical (accompaniment)."

I sang the following, (12)

"Tsho mo de bsam grub lo mo de gru bzhi;
Such is the melody of the song.
Let it be known that it was I who told it;
If you consider the examples and the meaning,
  they are the teaching of the Buddha.
Let those who would yet speak rash foolishness
  get on out of here!

For those who would hold firmly the sacred Vinaya,
(A model) such as Blo-bzang grags-pa[85] and his disciples
  is needed;
Yet since you concern yourselves chiefly with women and beer,[86] you
  appear not to hold the Buddha's teachings!
Let those who would further the two goals of self and others,
  wrap themselves up completely in the three vows!
Let those who have professed in public, but who
  violate the Vinaya in secret, get on out of here!

For those who would take the four initiations of mind,
A teacher the equal of Rdo-rje-'chang is needed;
Yet those who hope (to obtain) their desires through
  ritual, reduce the gsang-sngags to (the level of) Bon![87]

[11.a-11.b]

Let those who would understand the essence of the Tantra,
meditate the union of bskyed (-rim) and rdzogs(-rim)![88]
Let those who sell initiation and guidance for wealth,
get on out of here!

For those who would further the goals of other creatures,
One such as Jo-bo the father and his sons[89] is needed.
Yet those who work for their own goals only, appear
to destroy their bodhisattva status.
Let those who desire perfection of the two goals, meditate
impartial compassion and others as more dear than self!
Let those who would pursue the (wrong) turn of the
Hīnayāna, get on out of here! [11.b]

For those who would earnestly please the ancestral deities,
One is needed whose Bon utterances and visions are in harmony.
Yet those who confuse pleasant sound and meaningful utterance,
like an old book in two parts,[90] appear to fool their patrons.
Let those who would call themselves Bon ritualists,
conform to Gshen-rab mi-bo![91]
Let those who call the sacrificial cakes and sacrificial
remains, get on out of here![92]

For those who would practice the worldly Dharma,
One is needed who possesses both shame and modesty;
All those who make friends and hope to profit (thereby)
appear to be fooling themselves.

[11.b]

Let those who would call themselves models for the world,
speak honestly even to their enemies!
Let those who would cheat the heart of others who
trust them get on out of here!

For those who would become a Buddha in one lifetime,
There is needed a teacher with an excellent nature;
Yet those who consort with men of perverse views,
appear to be leading them on the road of error.
Let those who would call themselves teachers who explain
the Dharma, perfect in themselves all the (good) qualities!
Let those who have become accustomed to deceit,
get on out of here!

For those who would abide in the retreats of great meditators,
One is needed who truly practices the mindfulness of death;
Yet those who live carousing in the mountains,
appear to be wasting their byin-rlabs.[93]
Let those who would truly concentrate on religion
unite tranquility and higher vision!
Let those who would seek from the mountains (merely) food
and clothing get on out of here![94]

For those who would give up everything and travel the
country on pilgrimage,
There is needed one who can withstand inner and outer dangers;
Yet these deceitful men who live off beggary, appear

[11.b-12.a]

to incite the dogs to barking.
Let those who, for the truth, would go on pilgrimage to the
holy places, realize the one flavor of happiness and sorrow!
Let those who would mix buying beer[95] with stinginess,
get on out of here! [12.a]

For those who would become learned in the sciences of
grammar and logic,
There is needed one possessed of both understanding and
diligence;
Yet all these men in whom only the young student monks believe, appear not to know the scripture.
Let those who would truly practice the holy Dharma
generate an earnestness in (the study of) the texts!
Let those who forget that thorns wrapped in silk are not
wealth, get on out of here!

For those who would cause the visible world to appear in
the *dkyil-'khor*,[96]
There is needed one who meditates the unification of
bskyed(-rim) and *rdzogs(-rim)*;
Yet all those who place their hope in the eating ritual
only, appear to repudiate their pledges.
Let those who would call themselves true Tantric ritualists,
unite emptiness and compassion!
Let these red-handed murderers and servants of Death,
get on out of here!

[12.a-12.b]

For those who would repay the kindnesses of their parents,
A devoted son of good merit and karma is needed;
Yet these (children) accustomed to impudence, appear
to revile their elders.
Let those who would claim to be without retribution,
carry their parents at the top of their heads![97]
Let those who would harm their parents, supporting only
themselves when grown, get on out of here!

For those who would recognize the diseases of the sick,
There is needed one who follows closely the precepts of
the basic medical treatises;
Yet those who would carry on a trade in crudely-made drugs
appear to deceive their patients.
Let those who would call themselves true doctors conform to the
basic texts and practices!
Let those who would embrace and tickle these stretched out
sacks, get on out of here![98]

For those who would know the good and bad (days) of a lo-skor,[99]
There is needed a seeress who knows how to figure the
thirteen vessels;[100] [12.b]
Yet these The'u-rang-rkang-gcig appear to deceive
their patrons.
Let those who would call themselves accurate seeresses
conform to the gods and divination threads!
Let those who would place their hope in malicious spirits

[12.b]

and lies, get on out of here!

For those who would claim to be nuns in harmony with
the Dharma,
There is needed one such as the dge-slong-ma Dpal-mo;
Yet these nuns of today who beckon to ascetics appear
to sell the bla[102] of their monasteries.
Let those women who would call themselves pure aspirants
cover their cunt with their hand!
Let those prostitutes who kill their offspring
get on out of here!

For those who would bring their subjects to happiness,
There is needed an official who does not alter legal custom.
Yet these evil and selfish servants who steer the administration, appear to destroy the laws of the country.
Let those who would call themselves good officials
develop unerring understanding of truth and falsehood!
Let those partial officials who live off bribery
get on out of here!

For those who would be treated with affection by an official,
There is needed a servant who is thoroughly capable and
obedient.[103]
Yet these tough, disobedient straps who turn their faces
away appear to deceive their officials.
Let those who would call themselves the worthy servant of

[12.b-13.a]

an official act properly with respect to rank!
Let those upstarts who upset the structure of rank
get on out of here!

For those who would bring their families to happiness,
There is needed a father who possesses good fortune.
Yet these slanderous and stingy (men) appear to kill
their families through misery;
Let those who would make their households happy apply themselves
to trade and crops.
Let those gluttons and wasteful drunken trouble-makers
get on out of here! [13.a]

For those who would treat their sons and husbands like gods
There is needed a woman of good family.
Yet these indolent, harping women who eat in secret[104]
appear to repudiate their sons and husbands;
Let those who would be envied (by others) and happy with
themselves cultivate cleverness!
Let those who are more fond of their lovers than their
husbands get on out of here!

For those who would maintain their manly independence
There is needed a good swift horse.
Yet these tough-mouthed (horses) with the belly of a mdzo[105]
appear to throw off (their rider) in public places;
Let those who would have horses which take care of their

[13.a]

masters, buy a horse with all the good qualities.
Let those slow-paced stumbling (horses) get on out
of here!

For those who would secure their peace of mind and wealth
There is needed a good house surrounded by a wall;
Yet these rotten, collapsing houses with leaking potholes
appear to risk one's life.
Let those who would have houses which take care of their
owners, apply themselves to the repair of their house!
Let those ruined houses (which look) like the ears of an
ass,[106] get on out of here!

For those who would protect their wealth when they have
fallen asleep,
There is needed a good dog;
Yet these unwary dogs that slink around (like) house thieves
appear to carry off one's guests by the leg.[107]
Let those who would be possessed of confidence seek out a
good dog, ferocious when tied up!
Let those demons that whimper like dogs get on out
of here!

Happy are those valley fields wherein grows whatever
is planted.
Yet these mothers of unplanted straw appear to
deceive the autumn.[108]

[13.a-13.b]

Let those farmers who would be possessed of confidence buy
(a field) having proper amounts of water, manure, warmth
and moisture!
Let those mothers of coarse sand and crabgrass get on
out of here!" [13.b]

"*A'o* and that which was said is the song of Kun-dga' legs-pa;
With no point of view and in full is the way of every *yogin*.
By the spreading of the Buddha's doctrines these days,
The descendants of the 'Brug-pa line are happy.[109]
Good fortune!" I declared.

His Holiness then broke out into a smile; the others also said "That is true!" Then I replied, "But this song does not at all comprehend the true menaing, and this old bag of lies is me myself!" Thereafter I received innumerable gifts, which I gave over for a *mang-ja*[110] for those who had given them. A prayer was made.

Then I went to Skyor-mo-lung, and a monk said, "Here comes one of those beggars!" In reply I sang this hymn;

"The Buddha of the three times, Gtsang-pa-rgya-ras, (13)
Belonged not to a lineage that teaches mere words;
Who, through great blessings blended with meditation and
Introspection, gain true understanding, of these was
his lineage, *a'o*!

The four monastic centers, including 'Brug and Ra-lung,[111]
Are not centers for the propagation of lusts and hatreds;

[13.b-14.a]

They are places to work for Buddhahood in one lifetime
For those who have realized that their's is the lineage
of impermanence and death, a'o!

The sovereign ruler, Ngag-dbang,
Is no military general for the regents;
He is rather the leader of those who say 'emptiness'
When summing up the 84,000 scriptures, a'o!

I the mendicant, Kun-dga' legs-pa,
Am not one of those habitual beggars;
I am rather the very peak of the assemblage of mendicants,
As I have given up the lusts and hatreds of my homeland, a'o!" [14.a]

"Phā phā phā!" he said. "You seem to be the biggest of mouths, the heighth of glibness, and unconstrained of mind!"

"I should drink more beer rather than this (talking)!" I replied. "Then when the serving girl comes up, my glibness will be high and my mind seem unconstrained."

At that the villagers came crowding around all at once, carrying their pitchers and offering me some beer.

Then, a certain scholar[112] said, "Wealth is the religion of the Dkar-brgyud-pa these days. The teachers and disciples are masters of deceit and the husbands of nuns. They are old beer-drinkers. Their Mahāmudrā is the lta-ba of the Ha-shang.[113] They say that rnam-rtog is chos-sku. I maintain that this is the cause for their being reborn in the next lifetime as imperceptive gods[114] and animals. Relying on the power of rlung,[115]

[14.a-14.b]

there are heretics who can get out, having stayed underground for nine years and traveled more than three dpag-tshad down."[116]

"That is easy," I replied. "According to the Sngags-pa vow, the world is meditated as a divine mansion and its sentient beings, the life element, as gods and goddesses. Your impuning this is, in general, an act of rejection of the Dharma. Specifically, and on the basis of the Vinaya, since giving up the ten unvirtuous things is the most important rule, one must give up lying, cursing and slander, the (sinful) acts of speech.[117] By resorting to cursing you violate the Vinaya. By praising yourself and belittling others you violate the Bodhisattva vow. So unless you would act so as to be untouched by the odor of the three vows, cease accumulating verbal sin!

Moreover, there are a number of Dkar-brgyud-pa ascetics also who can pass quickly through a bowl-sized entryway. [14.b] Specifically, when trained in rlung-sems, they ride on the horse of rlung and obtain mental calm.[118] Without the radiation of rlung, the mind cannot move. The great meditators in mountain retreats are able to live for a month on bcud-len[119] without any rtsam-pa or other necessities. Can you go for even one day without a hot meal?"

"You seem to be right," he replied.

Then, an ascetic said, "These scholars, who have memorized many books filled with religious terms, do not understand the meanings. Actually, since they are referred to as scholars on the outside and gsang-sngags-pa on the inside, they should henceforth become Dkar-brgyud-pa.[120] The doctrine which is really beneficial at death is called the Phyag-rgya-chen-po. Moreover, they are prideful, bad, difficult, and will certainly gain little benefit for the future."

[14.b-15.a]

"Cease such ignorant talking!" I replied. "By hearing and studying the Prajñāpāramitā, the words of the Buddha, one understands how to traverse the stages and becomes liberated by hearing, without need for (further) meditation he becomes a Buddha. Also, the Bhagavant spoke 84,000 scriptures, and the middle turning of the wheel taught emptiness directly; he spoke the three Sūtras, long, middle, and condensed, teaching that as the principle doctrine. If one could become a Buddha by meditating only a trifling amount of mental calm, then the Buddha must have been hopped up on tea.[121] But that is certainly false; there are none who say so. Specifically, [15.a] the teaching of establishing in every instance that all dharmas are devoid of the extremes of permanence and instantaneousness is called Dbu-ma (Mādhyamikā). That is a name for the understanding of the ultimate truth.

Thus, on the basis of the one the other obtains. The names of this cause and effect (relationship), understood as mere terminological symbols, are (variously) Dbu-ma, Phyag-chen, or Rdzogs-chen. But gsang-sngags does not derive from having meditated just some small, newly-taught ritual.[122] (First) one progresses through the many Tantras and their (associated) rituals, such as the illustrious Gsang-'dus, the Bde-mchog, the 'Jigs-byed and the Kye-rdo-rje, brought from India by Mar-pa of Lho-brag; then one meditates the processes of generation, of perfection, and of the (two) united, and he causes rlung-sems to enter Dbu-ma.[123] Based on these essentials is the genuine practice of joining with a consort and, by certain visualizations, "leading."[124] The Ri-bo Dga-ldan-pa have this (practice), and the Sa-skya-pa also have many profound gsang-sngags doctrines, such as the Sbyor-ba-yan-lag-drug-gi-khrid. You have not yet fixed all that in your minds, so be silent!"

"We don't understand the truth of what you say," they replied.

[15.a-15.b]

"Let it be known! (14)
When one's feet have lost their footing,
One's head reaches the sky, and
One's hands do a dance, be it known![125]
Without being well-grounded yourselves,
You attribute things (falsely) to others;
Are you not worse than those you ridicule? Be it known!
If one cannot practice the Dharma, then one should
practice the life of a worldly man, be it known!
If one cannot do either, then he should
be a beggar, be it known!
he should keep his mouth shut, be it known!
If one knows not how to keep his mouth shut, [15.b]
then he should seal it with mud!"

Thus I said, and continued my travels.

I went thereafter to the Gtsang valley and came to the Nyang valley. Remembering that I had been born in my former lifetime as the Dge-bshes Nyams-bro, I assembled the market folk in the zhol of Rgyal-makhar-rtse.[126] I and my disciples put on a performance, and I sang this song,

"All you market folk from many locales, (15)
I am the teacher Nyams-bro'i seng-ge,
I am the teacher who knows all things.

From the sun's easterly direction have I come,
Riding the horse of certain liberation,
Bearing in hand the vows of the three refuges,

[15.b]
Leading as my retinue the pure (monastic) ordinances;
To nurture the seeds of deliverance in all the world's sentient beings have I come.

From the sun's southerly direction have I come,
Riding the horse of the four immeasurables,
Bearing in hand great compassion,
Leading thought of enlightenment as my retinue;
To turn away from the level of the lesser vehicle all the world's sentient beings have I come.

From the sun's westerly direction have I come,
Riding the horse of the (twelve-fold) chain of causation,
Bearing in hand emptiness of essence,
Leading the lack of the two extremes as my retinue;
To destroy the delusión of truth[127] of the sentient beings of the six classes, and to establish them on the path of vision have I come.

From the sun's northerly direction have I come,
Riding the horse of the process of generation of the body of the deity,
Bearing in hand the profound process of perfection,
Leading the union of bliss-emptiness as my retinue;
To elevate all the sentient beings of the six classes to the status of Rdo-rje-'chang have I come.

Now I have told you how I have come.

[15.b-16.a]

Attention all you market folk!
These are the three-fold expressions which make up a treatise;
This is the treatise of the word 'to have': [16.a]
To keep pure the three vows one has the so-thar;[128]
To relinquish the desires of self one has the byang-sems;
To generate, perfect, and unite one has the gsang-sngags;
That is the treatise of the three things 'to have'.

This is the treatise of the three things 'to lack':
A man yellow without but black within lacks the tshul-khrims;[129]
A man wise of speech but black in heart lacks the byang-sems;
A man whose visualizations appear not as deities lacks
the gsang-sngags;
That is the treatise of the three things 'to lack'.

This is the treatise of the three 'useless':
A fighting man who lacks courage is useless;
An empty treasury, without wealth, is useless,
A man without vows in yellow garb is useless;
That is the treatise of the three 'useless'.

This is the treatise of the three 'unworthy of offerings'"
A teacher without compassion is unworthy of offerings;
A lord who does not like what he is given is unworthy of offerings;
Servants who are offended by what they are given are unworthy of
offerings;
That is the treatise of the three 'unworthy of offerings'.

[16.a-16.b]

This is the treatise of the three 'to be offered to':
The perfect, undeceptive most rare should be offered to;
The siddhi-bestowing yi-dam should be offered to;
The religious protectors who remove obstacles should be
  offered to;
That is the treatise of the three 'to be offered to'.

This is the treatise of the four 'avoiding':
When a man is said to have accumulated bad karma and sins,
  the Bhagavān Shā-ka-thub-pa is sure to avoid him;
When they see a shameless and contentious man,
  the rich money-lenders are sure to avoid him;
When they see an old prick who disclaims a baby, the
  crotches of young girls are sure to avoid him; [16.b]
That is the treatise of the four 'avoiding'.

This is the treatise of the four 'to adhere to':
One adheres to service which pleases his yi-dam;
One adheres to a view which has no dogma;
One adheres to a meditation free of fatigue and distraction;
One adheres to behavior free of hypocrisy;
That is the treatise of the four 'to adhere to'.

This is the treatise of the three 'not forbidden':
The visualizations of a view which lacks the extremes
  are not forbidden;
The sūtras which do not misrepresent cause and effect are

[16.b-17.a]

not forbidden;
The Vinaya which rejects sin and cultivates virtue is
not forbidden;
That is the treatise of the three 'not forbidden'.

This is the treatise of the three 'good laughs':
Going on pilgrimage without sufficient supplies is a good laugh;
A monk inept in worldly affairs is a good laugh;
A nun who couldn't get a husband is a good laugh;
That is the treatise of the three 'good laughs'.

This is the treatise of the three 'bases of error':
A man without shame, though mistaken, is a base of error;
A (woman) who loans her personal jewels to a man is a
base of error;
A master who is both incapable but good is a base of error;
That is the treatise of the three 'bases of error'.

This is the treatise of the three 'capabilities':
Only observing the food and clothing of this lifetime, one
is capable of going to the three evil destinies,[130]
Only observing the seeking out of friendships and profits,
one is capable of deluding teachers and good people;
Only observing a bride or a girl who serves beer, one is
capable of throwing out ones parents and elders;[131] [17.a]
That is the treatise of the three 'capabilities'.

This is the treatise of the three things 'to throw out':

[17.a]

As soon as one sees those (beggars) dissatisfied with their
alms, one should throw out those empty cobs;
As soon as one sees those who after getting their meal
stare foodlessly, one should throw out those empty spoons;[132]
As soon as one sees their wealth and balding heads, one
should throw out those sins and their karmic results;
That is the treatise of the three things 'to throw out'.

Next is the treatise on the expression 'to realize'; I shall explain a little of the ways of my realization.

When dge-bshes travel often to the village and back, I
realize their real wish to throw the Dharma and their
vows to the wind;
When ascetics speak untimely vulgarities, I realize their
real wish to risk their lives against the enemies and
demons;
When nuns fix mirrors to their waists, I realize their
real wish that their wombs be distended by babies;
When fathers are fond of buying beer, I realize their real
wish to starve their families to death;
When mothers cautiously accept secret money, I realize their
real wish to send their husbands on trading expeditions;
When older ladies are easy to screw, I realize the real
wish of those old maids to cradle something in their hands;
When a new bride assumes the head of the household, I
realize that elder brother and husband will pit sword

[17.a-17.b]

against arrow;[133]
When lords twist the laws (to suit themselves), then I
realize that their subjects are destined for misery;
When minor officials use their authority badly, then I
realize that citizens will wish to throw them out;

That is the treatise on the expression 'to realize'; [17.b] next are the treatises in three parts.

This is the treatise on the three necessities:

Aversion to the world, the Vinaya rules and calm, disciplined
behavior,
These three are necessary for monks.

Friendliness, compassion and emptiness, these three
Are necessary for religious men.

Pledges, vows and (awareness of) cause and effect,
These three are necessary for Sngags-pa.

Good counsel, self-assurance and contientiousness,
These three are necessary for leaders.

Good weapons, heroism and fighting spirit,
These three are necessary for grown men.

Wisdom, timidity and worldly aptitudes,
These three are necessary for good ladies.

A smiling glance, white teeth and cleverness,

[17.b]

These three are necessary for young ladies.

Faith, devotion and offerings of prayer,
These three are necessary for nuns.

This is the treatise on three great deities:
A deity is great whose diarrhetic farts
Do not arouse the barking of dogs;
A deity is great who can defecate,
Without tears running down his cheeks;
A deity is great who does not laugh when
Achieving ecstasy through the expression of lust.

This is the treatise of the three 'sort of':
Putting a prick into a cunt is sort of like eating;
Diarrhea on the butt is sort of yellow;
Barley flour on the face is sort of white.

This is the treatise of the three 'great':
For all who have nothing to eat hunger is great;
For all who lack courage boasting is great;
For all who are old drinkers their old pricks are great.

This is the treatise of the three 'small':
For all old people their thoughts are small;
For all bastard children their fortune is small;
For all who are rich food portions are small.[134]

[17.b]

These three are necessary for young ladies.

Faith, devotion and offerings of prayer,
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A deity is great whose diarrhetic farts
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For all old people their thoughts are small;
For all bastard children their fortune is small;
For all who are rich food portions are small.[134]

[17.b-18.a]

This is the treatise of the three 'firm':
The fists of the nouveau riche are firm; [18.a]
The knots of nuns are firm;[135]
The bitterness of old people is firm.

This is the treatise on the three 'fondnesses':
All bla-ma are fond of gifts;
All lords are fond of praise;
All women are fond of handsome youths.

This is the treatise of the three 'insertions':
Those lords who always interfere, insert themselves
between rock and blow;
Those (bla-ma) who live off faith without themselves
accumulating (good karma) insert themselves into an
impure field;
Those old pricks burning with money, insert themselves into the cunts of widows.

This is the treatise of the three 'dense':
The wool from Snye-ma makes dense (-weaved) wool cloth;
The clay from Byog-po makes hard pottery;
The men from Mnga'-ris have dense heads.

This is the treatise of the three 'soft':
The mind which understands bodhicitta is softer than wool;
The Nyang-pa army is softer than silk;

[18.a-18.b]

The wool from Nyang-thang makes soft woolen cloth.
That is the treatise of the three 'soft'.

This is the treatise of the three 'thin':
The cloak of a religious man without vows is thin;
The green corn from a field without manure is thin;
The thighs of a wanton woman are thinner than silk.
That is the treatise of the three 'thin'.

This is the treatise of the expression 'shame':
The small in courage are shamed in debate;
Those who have committed sin are shamed at death;
Thieves who have stolen are shamed before the courts;
One who has let a fart is shamed before a large gathering;
(She) with many bastard children is shamed in the market;
A bla-ma who has broken his vows is shamed in public;
That is the treasury-treatise of the expression 'shame'.

This is the treatise of the three 'dissipations':
By perpetually buying beer a man's mind is dissipated;
By quarreling the favors of one's wife are dissipated; [18.b]
By continual beating a man's life is dissipated.

Of course I tell you this jokingly!

This is the treatise on the expression 'pleased':
I am pleased by a view which takes no position;
I am pleased by meditation without distraction and fatigue;

[18.a-18.b]

The wool from Nyang-thang makes soft woolen cloth.
That is the treatise of the three 'soft'.

This is the treatise of the three 'thin':
The cloak of a religious man without vows is thin;
The green corn from a field without manure is thin;
The thighs of a wanton woman are thinner than silk.
That is the treatise of the three 'thin'.

This is the treatise of the expression 'shame':
The small in courage are shamed in debate;
Those who have committed sin are shamed at death;
Thieves who have stolen are shamed before the courts;
One who has let a fart is shamed before a large gathering;
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By perpetually buying beer a man's mind is dissipated;
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By continual beating a man's life is dissipated.

Of course I tell you this jokingly!

This is the treatise on the expression 'pleased':
I am pleased by a view which takes no position;
I am pleased by meditation without distraction and fatigue;

[18.b]

I am pleased by natural, unrestricted behavior;
I am pleased by the three inherent fruitional bodies;
I am pleased to meet those who wish me good fortune.

A'u! The orb of great bliss above my head,
within sits an excellent bla-ma;[136]
According to his will has the good fortune of the 'Brug-pa lineage been accumulated.

A'u! In the upper valley like the sun they shine, great Rdo-rje-'chang and his holy lineage beside him;
According to his will has the good fortune of the 'Brug-pa lineage been accumulated.
Has not the good fortune of the faithful and the disciples also been accumulated?

A'u! In the lower valley like the moon they shine, the precepts of the oral transmission and ritual practices beside them;
By these has the good fortune of ascetics in retreat been accumulated.
Is it not just so that good fortune has been accumulated?
This song of Nyams-bro (expresses) my happy state of mind, a'o!

To say that a man is a good dge-bshes, a'o,
means that he should listen to what his excellent bla-ma says, a'o!
But to say that he listens not to what his excellent bla-ma

[18.b-19.a]

says, a'o!
Is that not an example of one who has broken his holy vows?

To say that a citizen should be joyful and happy, a'o,
Means that he should listen to what his lord and elders say, a'o!
But to say that he listens not to what his lord and elders say, a'o ya'i! [19.a]
It that not an example of one who has thrown good counsel to the wind?

To say that a young man has gone to war, a'o,
Means that he should be well outfitted with heroism and bodily fitness, a'o!
But to say that he is not well outfitted with heroism and bodily fitness, a'o ya'i!
Is that not an example of one who risks his life against enemies?

To say that a young woman has gone to the home (of a husband), a'o,
Means that she should be clever and faithful, a'o!
But to say that she has become stupid and head-strong, a'o ya'i!
Is that not an example of one who will be gone tomorrow and return the next day?[137]

To say that one's child is fortunate, a'o,
Means that he is attentive to what his kindly parents have

[19.a-19.b]

taught him, a'o!

But to say that he has become inattentive to what his kindly parents have taught him, a'o ya'i!

Is that not an example of one who has become habitually bad?"

As I sang this song I was doing a dance, and the governor heard me from Rgyal-mkhar-rtse fort and sent out a summoner; I was really given the royal treatment.[138]

"Wow! Was that ever funny!" someone said.

"Well, you obviously didn't understand it, so kindly shut your mouths!" I replied.

"Where did you ever learn to put on such a good act, venerable Kun-dga' legs-pa? You really know what all the dirty words mean! And you boys, you red foxes you![139] What's the matter with you? I'm going to have you learn to sing and dance like that, and then you can do it when we have one of our lawn festivals," (the governor) said, scolding his servants.

After that I went to the establishment of a gnas-mo in the village, and while she was offering me a huge serving of cooked meat, a man who said he was from Mnga'-ris [19.b] and who looked like a yogin, came seeking lodging from the gnas-mo. He drank some beer, then entrusted to her a packsack which was loosely tied up, and he went off to beg for rtsam-pa. In his absence, the gnas-mo undid the bag and sat looking inside. It was filled with amber. The gnas-mo took out three pieces of the amber and was about to put back three radishes, when I said, "Listen!" And I told the gnas-mo this story.

"I read this story in a book, and it goes like this:[140]

[19.b-20.a]

In a former time, in the upper regions of the Gnang Valley, there was a poor man named Rdzun-ham. Yet he had two sons, 'Du-ba and 'Du-chung, so he was thoughtful about the time when they would be full grown. There was also a poor man in the lower valley named Rab-'jigs. As the two of them were friends, they went for a walk once, and, seeing a bright light at the base of a hollow tree, they dug down. They found a copper pot, one bre in size, full of gold. They were both very happy and Rab-'jigs sang this song,

'Oh listen good friend Rdzun-ham! (16)
By acts of greed did we become poor;
Through the fruit of some merit, perhaps,
Because we gave alms or something,
We two today have found this precious
treasure.
Hence, now we should offer it to the three precious ones!

Rdzun-ham replied to this, 'Oh friend, our finding of this treasure today can be due to none other than your own merit. So, as a gesture of thanks to you, I shall find beer and all the other good kinds of food, and in three days I shall throw a feast. [20.a] In the meanwhile I will keep this gold, and on that happy occasion we can divide it up. For, on the other hand, might there not be some deception here? Or perhaps it is really a deceitful trick on the part of the gods and demons!'

'Perhaps it is so,' the other replied, 'I shall come in three days, and then we can divide it up,' and he left.

Immediately Rdzun-ham removed the gold, and left (the pot), having

[20.a-20.b]

filled it back up with a bre of rotten wood particles. Thus, after three days, when Rab-'jigs returned and knocked on the door, the other came out wailing and pretending that he was gasping for breath. Rab-'jigs asked, 'Friend, what has happened?'

'I'm glad to see that you have come, yet something unspeakable has happened!' Rdzun-ham replied. Realizing at once that it was a lie, Rab-'jigs said, 'Friend, what reason can there be for your inability to tell me? We two are so dear to each other, so tell me truthfully!' The other replied, cryingly, 'I would die for you, so please don't think that I would tell my friend a lie, or envy him. It is just as I suggested before, that it might be some deception, or a deceitful trick. Our gold isn't there; it has turned into particles of wood! But come inside now, and let's eat.' Rab-'jigs replied, 'Friend, you are not being punished by sickness or death; actually, it's my belief that this was caused by some accumulating of sin. It is wrong to cause sorrow. Let us go inside.' Then they went in and Rdzun-ham served Rab-'jigs much beer, and had his two sons 'Du-ba and 'Du-chung perform a dance. At that Rab-'jigs said, 'Perhaps these two sons of yours are an illusion out of a dream; that was a really great performance!'[20.b] and he left.

On another occasion, in the Autumn, Rab-'jigs went to see Rdzun-ham, bringing a lot of beer and carrying some ripening stalks of grain. He made the two boys very happy by giving them the ripening stalks of grain. Then Rab-'jigs said, 'Why don't you send the two boys to my place for a few days. The grains and pomegranates have just ripened. I also have a cow which has just calved and there is a plentiful amount of dairy products. Also, since my wife no longer has any small children, she would like them very

[20.b-21.a]

much. So send them, by all means! Then you yourself can come soon, and I will throw you a party.' So Rdzun-ham, thinking it true, sent his two boys along with him.

Then, after a few days had gone by, Rdzun-ham went to call for his two boys. While serving him beer, Rab-'jigs pretended to be crying, and Rdzun-ham asked, 'Friend, why are you crying? Neither sickness nor death have come upon you as punishment! Whatever else might have happened, crying is the last thing one should do!' Rab-'jigs replied, 'I feel completely unable to tell you.' The other then said, 'As you yourself said formerly, to a dear friend there is nothing one cannot say, so tell me!' So Rab-'jigs said, 'Before, when your sons had performed that dance, I said, "Perhaps this is an illusion." It happened just like that, they have become monkeys!' 'Show me!' said the other, 'I have never known a single case where a man became a monkey!' Rab-'jigs replied,

'Examples of the unprecedented are many indeed. (17)
Formerly particles of gold dust turned to particles of wood;
Such a thing had I not experienced 'till then. [21.a]
Two humans there were who turned to monkeys;
This obstacle between two friends
Is an evil sign, without precedent!
'Du-ba, 'Du-chung, come here you two!'

At that, two monkeys came in, picking out nits, digging in their ears and exhibiting many other playful gestures. Rdzun-ham gasped, and out of shame said nothing for a moment. Then he said, 'Friend, you are right. If I am able to lie and deceive in this way, you also are capable of as much. I haven't the slightest doubt now about the truth that the gold dust became

[21.a-21.b]

sawdust. Nor have I any doubt about the truth that humans became monkeys. Hand over my sons, therefore, and we shall divide up the gold.' Rab-'jigs replied,

'If once before one has taken a wrong road, (18)
It is a mistake to take it later on.
For that one time when one obtains a human body,
It is a mistake to be irreligious and come back empty-handed.
A man once cheated by a friend,
What greater mistake than to listen again?
Get the gold dust and I shall give over your sons;
Otherwise, take these monkeys and get out!'

So Rdzun-ham took all the gold and divided it up, the sons were then handed over and they all went their separate ways.

After a great time had passed, the two men died and, in accordance with a former wish, met in Bar-do. Rdzun-ham said, 'Friend, because of the terrible greed which you showed in saying that my sons had become monkeys, the miseries of hell will weigh heavily upon you!'

'*A-la-la*!' cried Rab-'jigs in amazement. 'I certainly didn't kill your sons; they will definitely come before you in the hereafter. On the contrary, the gold which I had decided to offer to the Three Precious Ones, [21.b] you cheated me of through lies and greed. Thus it is your sin that is great! Let us not speak to each other!' Then came the judgement of Chos-kyi-rgyal-po. 'Go!' a voice said, and they went before the presence of Gshin-rje. The judgement was made and Chos-kyi-rgyal-po decreed,

'Rdzun-ham, as retribution for your having said that the gold became sawdust, you shall be cooked for five hundred years in the midst of roasting

[21.b-22.a]

sawdust! Though in retalation therefore, Rab-'jigs, you did not then develop evil thoughts, yet as retribution for your having said that the humans became monkeys, you shall take the form of a monkey in five hundred (successive lives). Thereafter, the fruit of your both having spoken the truth (in the end) will cause you to become possessed of the Dharma. Because Rab-'jigs, in particular, at the time of finding the gold, spoke in verse of offering it to the Three Precious, he shall become ordained and generate the thought (of enlightenment) in the Mahāyāna; and thereby shall come to be ripened the fruit which is Buddhahood. Know that this is so!'

At the command of the assistants of Gshin-rje to lead Rdzun-ham into the blazing sawdust, they tied a black rope to his neck and lead him away. Rab-'jigs had to take the form of a monkey five hundred (times) in a dense forest in the realm of humans."

"Therefore, oh gnas-mo, as you yourself committed a falsehood in exchanging the radishes for the amber, and because the retribution will be as great as your karma is subtle, don't do so!" I said.

"You're so right," she said, sitting shamefully.

I am the yogin, the preserver of joy. (19)
The farewell song of the Dwags-po Valley,
Good counsel for both master and servant, [22.a]
The song of the horse that threw its master;
The details of these tales and of others I know,
In my mind they appear, from my mouth they flow.
Listen well all you virtuous people, get away all
you evil ones!

[22.a]

At one time, when I was going from Rtsa-ri towards Dwags-lha-sgam-po, I stayed for several days in Grum-mda'. I performed diligent service for the estate of A-ce-or-mo-dgon-gsar, and I gave some short religious sermons to many gatherings of people. There was a river there whose force swept everything away, so I built a permanent bridge over it. One day I decided to go to Sgam-po, so I put out a skin (boat), and, as I went, five young Dwags-po women were singing this farewell song in unison.

"A'o we address you, excellent bla-ma, (20)
Now, when you do not stay, but leave for your monastery,
Please leave your thugs-dam[141] as a memento for a young girl.
Later we girls shall come to you offering things for tshogs-'khor;
Then you (in return) may please guide us virtuous young girls in the Dharma! A'o dang e-na.

A'o we address you, about the karma of past lives,
If evil we have accumulated please join us with the Dharma;
If merit we have, please guide us to the brightly-decorated monastery.
But let not our evil husbands hear a word about it!
A'o dang e-na.

A'o we address you, Crazy 'Brug-pa Kun-legs,
Please comfort those in evil rebirths and those suffering in Saṃsāra.
In private please convert us fickle girls to the Dharma!"

[22.a-22.b]

Hearing that I became a little uncertain. The words of those girls seemed to express great faith, but perhaps it was really a love song, a song to seduce me? In any case, I responded with this song of my thoughts which expressed a religious lesson. [22.b]

"A'o you have addressed me, pretty young girls, (21)
You need not sorrow, for I shall comfort your minds;
If serious you are in devotion to the Dharma, then come
now and make your commitment!
I need not your offerings of food for ritual, the gods and
demons will come and serve me.
Both now and in the future the sun will come and shine
joyously.

A'o you have addressed me, seductive young girls,
If your minds are not made up, then to live in this world
will be your fate.
Serve your children and husbands like excellent deities!
Work hard at your crops and give up your fruits to virtue!
Lead your sons and daughters to the Dharma!
Eat well at breakfast, but be not greedy!
Render as much service as you can to holy men!
Be generous with food and become a Mahāyānist!
Ultimately, then, shall you gain your wish of meeting
the Dharma.
A'o!"

Because of what I said, three of the girls came and took refuge in

[22.b-23.a]

the hermitage of Sgam-po.

On another occasion I was in the 'Phyong-rgyas Valley, riding my horse. My companion and host, Don-grub, had also gone there to ride with me. But he was thrown by the horse and sat there, without getting up, waving his feet and snatching out with his hands. So I sang this song.

"A-ho oh pitiful one! (22)
When a powerful fort isn't guarded, that is what happens;
When a good field isn't cultivated, that is what happens;
When the leaks in a good house aren't stopped, that is what happens;
When the profound Dharma isn't put into practice, that is what happens;
When one gains a human body, [23.a] yet remains irreligious, that is what happens;
When one is lawless, yet acts as ruler, that is what happens;
When one acts as a minister, yet gives no counsel, that is what happens;
When one has great arrogance, yet little ability, that is what happens;
When a family is large but food is scarce, that is what happens;
When one's promises are great, but tenacity little, that is what happens;
When one guards not his vows, yet claims the Vinaya, that is what happens;

[23.a]

When one has neither bskyed(-rim) nor rdzogs(-rim), yet professes
to be a sngags-pa, that is what happens;
When one meditates without directed teaching, that is
what happens;
When one behaves not according to his station, that is
what happens;
When one explains sūtra and mantra as incompatible, that
is what happens;
When one debates without knowledge of logic, that is what
happens;
When one has not given up desires of the self, yet has taken
the Bodhisattva (vow), that is what happens;
When one has not seen the essence, yet assumes contemplative
equanimity, that is what happens;
When one's fortune is little, yet one's wishful musings many,
that is what happens;
When one is a bla-ma, yet irreligious, that is what happens;
When one examines not one's self, yet thinks critically of
others, that is what happens;
When one thinks not of karma, yet poses as a holy man, that
is what happens;
When one is not a Heruka, yet has bound up his locks, that
is what happens;[142]
When one revolts, without any support, that is what happens;
When one has grown old and is treated harshly, that is
what happens;

[23.a-23.b]

When monastic schools are many, but their sects are inharmonious, that is what happens; [143]
When one's offerings are great, but one's basis of offering small, that is what happens;
When an unskilled man rides on a good horse, that is what happens." [23.b]

Then the others helped the host up, and he laughed chokingly out of embarrasment.

He he! Formerly, a sick man, his wife and a doctor were sitting in the presence of the Buddha. The three had become completely wearied, as the sickness had persisted for so long. The sick man thought, "Since there has been no recovery, and before my resources run out, I would be happy were I to die!" The doctor thought, "He still isn't cured' I would be happy were he to die! For this is simply delaying my payment." The wife thought, "If he were to die, then it would be all right for me to look for another husband!" The Buddha said, "May good fortune prevail!" The sick man understood this to mean, "If I do not lose this precious jewel, my life, I ought to seek out the treasures of this world." The wife understood it to mean, "In the past he was very attentive to me; I have no way to know how someone else might act in the future." The doctor understood it to mean, "The greatest wealth is compassion; curing that sick man will be valuable to all."

Once, in a dream, I imagined I had gone to the realm of the gods. I saw some gods expressing the sorrows of long life; then I saw many aged men, performing extensive work on the palace. Next I saw many frogs in a puddle, warming themselves in the sun. Then, in one divine mansion, I saw the gods

[23.b-24.a]

seeming to sorrow greatly. I became saddened and dreamed that I sang this song of sorrow. [24.a]

"The Buddha busied himself in the fulfilment of the two goals; (23)
But how slowly, it seems, do living beings work for their own
goal!
Great is the effort needed to obtain
an auspicious human body;
But how leisurely the animals seem
in their sport!
The golden-eyed (fish) moves quickly
in the lake;
But how happy the frog seems,
sitting in the hollow!
Men are saddened in their attempt
to succeed in meditation;
But how happy do they seem, who
work readily at evil!
Sad seem they who enjoy the
fate of the gods;
But how changeable are the minds of those
who have lost their teeth at fifty!"[144]

At that a voice came to me, saying, "You seem to be quite fond of the realm of the gods; come in for a few days!" I replied, "Unless one has become a Buddha, a man by nature lives in misery, no matter where he is born. I wonder what will happen?" Thus I dreamed, but the answer I do not know.

[24.a-24.b]

After that, at Bya-yul Pho-brang-yang-rtse, there was a tshogs-'khor[145] in progress. In the assemblage were many 'Brug-pa tent-hermits who, having gotten drunk on beer, were flattering the ruler Chos-rgyal gling-pa effusively. They were shouting good wishes profusely, their meditation hats slipping cockeyed on their heads.

So I said, "Now I have not experienced happiness in the sphere of worldly affairs: I lost my father; my paternal uncle took my mother for his wife; we three, I, my brother and my sister, have gone our separate ways. Yet, from the religious point of view, I know the Dharma to be difficult for even the most zealous."

"I have never been unhappy over food and clothing; (24)
Being without property, I have seen the sights
of the country;
Being without relatives, I have gained patrons; [24.b]
Being without a master, I have gained freedom!"

The ruler was pleased at this, so I sang this song of the life of a great meditator.

"Happy am I not to have been a widely-patronized bla-ma. (25)
One who has become a widely-patronized bla-ma,
Continually rushing far away, amassing gifts from initiations,
Has no time to practice the holy Dharma himself.

Happy am I not to have been an academic instructor;
For had I become an academic instructor,
Continually seeking out the girl-friends of the boy monks,
I would have had no time to ponder the meanings of the

[24.b]

words of Sūtra and Tantra.

Happy am I not to have stayed in a monastic hermitage;
For had I stayed in a monastic hermitage,
Continually looking at the bright smiles of the nuns,
I would have had no time to look at the essence of the three vows.

Happy am I not to have adopted the life-style of an ascetic;
For had I adopted the life-style of an ascetic,
Continually making others the center of my concern,
I would have had no time to watch carefully over my own mind.

Happy am I not to have been the owner of property;
For had I been the owner of property,
Continually paying profits and tzxes to others,
I would have had no time to secure my own well-being.

Happy am I not to have placed trust in my relatives;
For had I placed trust in my relatives,
Continually suffering from having to thank them,
I would have had no time to enjoy the Lord's food[146] who requires no gratitude.

Happy am I not to have been the ruler's tax collector;
For had I been the ruler's tax collector,
Continually indulging in belligerance towards others,
I would have had no time to accumulate my own good karma.

[24.b-25.a]

Happy am I not to have been a village leader;
For had I been a village leader,
Continually making judgments and giving advice, [25.a]
I would have had no time to pursue my own pure goal.

Happy am I not to have meditated the wrathful deities of the sngags-pa;
For had I meditated the wrathful deities of the sngags-pa,
Continually cutting off the life vein of others,[147]
I would have had no time to meditate the thought of enlightenment.

Happy am I not to have propitiated the Bon gods and demons;
For had I propitiated the gods and demons of the g.yung-drung,[148]
Continually doing g.yang-'gugs[149] for this life,
I would have had no time to take refuge in the (Three) Most Precious Ones.

Happy am I not to have yelled 'phaṭ' as a spyod-yul-pa;[150]
For had I yelled 'phaṭ'as a spyod-yul-pa,
Continually struggling with deities and demons,
I would have had no time to cut off the base-vein of my own life.

Happy am I not to have lived with my uncle's family;
For had I lived with my uncle's family,
Continually struggling with the misery of hunger,
I would have had no time to travel as a pilgrim this land of happiness.

[25.a-25.b]

Happy am I not to have practised the Dharma of the Śrāvaka and
Pratyekabuddha,[151]
For had I joined the sect of Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha,
Continually fostering my own goals alone,
I would have had no time to repay the kindnesses of my parents
and others."

So I sang this song, drank some beer, and kissed the nun Ye-shes-'tsho-mo. There was much laughter at that, and someone said, "You certainly are the grand old man of the Dkar-brgyud-pa!" The lord himself even bestowed a reward upon me. I was given a piece of rock sugar about the size of a nun's head, and many people crowded up to me. A nun from Bya had become enamored with me; "Oh, how great, how beautiful a song!" she exclaimed. "No one could have sung a more beautiful one!" [25.b] So saying, she wrapped a wonderful cloak about me.

After that, when all the benefactors and monks had gone to Rtse-mo-ri, a famous master of the viol came. All the lords and their servants sat listening, having come to watch. But I began to play my own little viol, and sang this song.

"E-ma-ho! I am the yogin Kun-dga' legs-pa; (26)
When my viol rings out its holy tune,
Even the Gandharvas[152] smile a little;

When I act out the nine dramatic moods,[153]
Even the dpa'-bo are compelled to dance;

[25.b-26.a]

When my mind is totally composed,
I see clearly all sentient beings (of the six realms);

When I observe whatever appears, in continuous calm,
everything is in perpetual happiness;

When I worship my mystical goddess with the nine dances,[154]
I become completely enmeshed in great bliss;

When I observe the behavior of kindly parents,
The bee (tear) of my eye drips softly like rain;

When I observe the compassion of the Buddhas of the three times,
The lotus of my mind blooms brilliantly;

When I observe the single process of understanding,
The various become rolled up into one;

When I observe the many appearances of the single flavor,
The solitary completely pervades the various;

Into that great union of things without distinction,
I achieve deliverance, and laugh aloud!"

"Of course this state has not been produced in me; I just sang as if it had been."

At that all the lords and their servants sent the master of the viol away. Then they gathered attentively about me, making proclamations of new faith. Many rewards and much devotion were bestowed upon me.

"There is a saying, 'The faithful patron understands, [26.a] but not

[26.a]
for long thereafter.' In the same way will my own instruction be," I said.

While I was travelling towards Mon, I went up to a place on the way called Lo-ro-dos. In a grassy area at the edge of a field where many people were weeding, I pitched my meditation tent, and sat singing a song out loud. Five young girls who looked like goddesses came up, offering me popped corn,[155] rock sugar, buckwheat cakes, and so forth. "Reverend sir," they addressed me, "our minds have not the capacity to practice the Dharma. Kindly give us a song which we might sing aloud, one that combines song with the saying of the *ma-ṇi*." So I taught them the following, giving it to them to sing.

"*Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ*! (27)
This dance of a song of good fortune,
This dance of the risen sun of Dharma,
These I offer to the thousand Buddhas of the
fortunate eon.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to the risen sun, the far-spread teaching.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to great Rdo-rje-'chang, the upper valley
of the lineage.

* * *

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!

[26.a-26.b]

This dance of a song of good fortune,
The lower valley of that lineage is Kun-dga'
legs-pa.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
That excellent religious lineage,
from there to there extends.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to those empowered *siddhi*,
which have assembled here.

* * *

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ! [26.b]
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to that excellent abode, the
multicolored *maṇḍala*.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to that excellent guest, the deity
Bde-mchog.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
As offering I give it, that bliss-emptiness

[26.b]

might be preserved.

* * *

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to that excellent abode, the
parents of the six classes.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to that excellent guest,
Śākya-thub-pa.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
As offering I give it, that he
might achieve the two goals.

* * *

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to that excellent abode, these
faithful lady listeners.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
I offer to that excellent guest,
Kun-dga' legs-pa.

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,

[26.b-27.a]

As offering I give it, that the holy Dharma
  might be taught.

* * *

Oṁ bzang ma-ṇi padme la hūṁ!
This dance of a song of good fortune,
This dance of the risen sun of Dharma,
These I offer to the thousand Buddhas of the
  fortunate eon."

"This should you sing," I said, and as I had been causing my locks of hair to wave about (while dancing), they grew overjoyed and exclaimed, "Well, if he isn't something! My! What could be better; just look at that old man; he certainly is happy! How beautiful that was!"

I, however, wasn't sure whether they said this out of faith or seductiveness.

Then I travelled on to Mon. I arrived before the residence of the ruler of Mon and spoke this eulogy. [27.a]

"Praise!
Looking down from the mansion of the Dharma-realm 'Og-min, (28)
There arose in my mind the notion that I was the *dharma-kāya*
  of great Rdo-rje-'chang;
Praise to that yogin, possessed of the five certainties![156]
Let him turn the wheel of the Dharma of the *gsang sngags*!
May the *bla-ma* and *yi-dam* bless me!

Looking down from *Ghṛdrakūṭa*, near that great city,[157]

[27.a-27.b]

There arose in my mind the notion that I was the Bhagavan
Śākyamuni;
He is indeed the _yogin_ who turns the wheel of Dharma!
It is he, the master of the doctrine, who must do so!
May the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas bless me!

Travelling throughout this land, and to this place,
There arose in my mind the notion that I was the Crazy
'Brug-pa, Kun-dga' legs-pa;
He is, indeed, a joyful and committed _yogin_!
May that old man with a copper ladle for a head[158] bless
himself!"

Then the wife of the ruler of Mon, named Sprad-mo-dar, was carried up on a sedan chair. "I have come to see the teacher and his disciples," she said. Then all the young girls of the village gathered about and served me all sorts of tasty fruits, such as those called _go-la_, and _pha-tun_.[159] Then they offered me full skull-caps of rice beer, grape and other kinds of beer. So I sang this song of Mon;

"_A-sho_ and _la-li-ya-li-la-sho-la-ya-ya_! (29)
In a place down in India called Magadha;
A-sho-la-li-ya and _la-sho-la-ya-ya_!
A-sho one day a hundred young boys were gathered
in the market.
_A-la-la_ no sooner had they gathered than the
sorrow of separation arose. [27.b]
Sho-mo how happy not to leave the gathering _la-ya-ya_!

[27.b]

A'o at midday they departed unwillingly!

In a place up there called Mi-yul-kyi-skya-mo,
A'o with my parents, brother and sister lived I;
A-la-la together we lived in our home, happy in that former time.
A'o but then did I suffer separation from my family!
A'o the impermanent (body); when Death comes it departs powerlessly!
Sho-mo let one who cannot endure separation, and who is concerned for himself, devote himself one-pointedly to the holy Dharma!

Now at this place in particular, before the Mon ruler's residence,
For the present have bla-ma and patron met with good wishes;
A'o how happy the time of gathering; but how unhappy the time of leaving!
A-la-la unhappy and sad am I to plan on leaving!
Sho-mo that we meet again, and that I turn the wheel of Dharma,
A-ho your prayers shall come true, oh faithful listeners!"

At that the people of Mon said, "A-la-la bhi shu bhi shu and that beautiful song bi bas! This virtue-minded man from afar has bewitched us! A-la-la sing-ma! For us to follow the bla-ma, a'o! That is our desire!"

With tears they said this, so I asked "What is this?" A nun replied, "They said, 'Your beautiful song has gripped my mind with this unexplainable

[27.b-28.a]

sadness; it is my desire to follow the bla-ma!'"

That evening, to see whether or not I had any of the marks of (spiritual) perfection, the ruler accompanied me to a certain one-storyed house with a black banner, wherein lived a woman with no relatives. [28.a] The Mon lady served a course of cooked rice and a full gourd of beer, then sat down with her back towards us. We stayed there, and ate and drank. The next day, when we went out, there was a Tibetan mendicant at the corner of a wall, on the verge of death, and another who had already died. "What happened?" I asked the one. "We got Mon-poison!" he said. I asked him where they got it, and he replied, "We didn't know that that little house yonder with the black banner was the house of a witch, and because we ate the food and beer she served us, he has died. Nor is there any chance that I will not die also!" As nothing had happened yet to me or my two disciples, we forced our way into the king's palace. His bodyguards used many things against us, such as poisoned arrows and blood-poison; but I caused the king to fall upside down off his throne. Then I seized him by the front of his garment and said, "Are you listening to what I say? If you don't listen I'll have you killed!" "I'm listening," he replied, so I ordered him to build (a monastery) called Mon-sribs lha-khang. I appointed Chos-dar-ba[160] to be the (head) bla-ma. About thirty Mon-pa youths were conscripted and entered into the religion. Then I explained the doctrine of the cause and effect of karma. The Mon king and all his servants exclaimed, "We concocted poison for you and your disciples, but it produced no harm; the poisoned arrows did not penetrate, and you did not succumb to the blood-poisoning. Therefore you must be truly a grub-thob!" They then paid me much deference and ardent reverence. Beginning with that the 'Brug-pa doctrine came to be spread in the east of Mon. [28.b] But, alas! I never met any female attendants anywhere with softer or more delicate skin than that of the ladies of Mon!

Let it be known! (30)

"Let it be known that my life wind[161] rose and I went to
the deep valley of Mon!
Let it be known that, though I had not the signs of perfection, it became necessary for me to show them!
Let it be known that since the goals of sentient beings had not been achieved, it became necessary for me to do so!
Let it be known that I did not travel here in search of food and clothes!
Let it be known that I threw away all offerings upon my leaving!
Let it be known that I did not bring away even a single guinea pepper!"

"India is just a short distance from here," I was told, so I went. In a certain town there was a ruler named Father Sa-nti-ka. In front of a thatched hut was a fat _yogi_ who was dead. A friend was there saying prayers. "What is it?" I asked. "He caught the pox," came the reply. As I went in through the door, the Brahmin husband and his wife who were there fled out of fear. In the enclosure were a large stone _liṅga_[162] and a large mud _yoni_, smeared with red ochre. In front were the remnants of many kinds of food and blood libations. "I offer these to the gods!" I said. They (the Brahmins) had been performing great purifications and as they were not pleased (by the presence of the yogis), they put the Maheśvara in the female organ. By doing that, whatever enemy you think of dies from bleeding at the nose. Although he was stricken with the pox, that is what happened. I and my disciples drank the rice beer and left-over cooked rice. [29.a] Then, as we were leaving, the two Brahmins returned and said, "*Tra mo he bandha badzra kha da he dha ra dha rdol pa hib hib*!" Translated into Tibetan this meant, "If we strike the evil Tibetan monk in the head with a long stone and kill him, it will be beneficial; the low caste are a great pollution." Then they washed the hut completely, inside and out. After that they applied (to the walls) some female water buffalo urine, mixed with dirt. Inside and out was fumigated with the smoke of bamboo leaves. Then they came over to see whether or not we had been stricken with the pox and died. But we were hurrying back and forth, blowing many times on our thigh-bone trumpets, so they said, "You must either be Buddhist *grub-thob* or great Hindu masters!" and they payed us much homage. Then some other Brahmins came up saying, "*Bu ddha bha dra dha rma he ma ṇi bha la*!" and formed a large group. I understood this to mean, "Please give us the holy Dharma of the good Buddha!" So I expounded the following in the Indian vernacular;

"*Na ha cin ra na ga zu na u tsi ma bhang la na tri shu pa nytsa bha* (31)
dra bha dra 'dir 'ong dang/ga te ga te pra tam sang ha sa ri had shu
hri na tsa ri ri e ho nan ya'i / la tsa na ya'i / sa ca ra ya'i / kang ka
na ya'i / tri shu la na ya'i / dhu ni dha ra ha'i / shi ri dha ra dha ra
ha'i / a yu dha ra ha'i / manga lam dha ra ha'i / "

Translating into Tibetan, this said, "The self-nature of one who has fully understood the Mādhyamika view, that excellent system of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti, is empty of outside and inside. Such a one is unaffected by sorcery and demonic harm. [29.b] How joyful is he! How happy is he! How good he feels! How successfully his wishes are fulfilled! His prayers! How great is his fortune! How great is his wealth! How long will his life be! How fortunate is he!"

As a result, the people of that village became faithful. I discoursed to them on the benefits of the ma-ṇi and on the doctrine of the cause and effect of karma.

After that I went away, yet, as is the nature of the age, though many heretics (i.e. Hindus) exhibited marks of (spiritual) success, I have returned (to Tibet) knowing that nothing would develop but a multitude of transitory attachments.

"Let it be known! (32)
I, the yogin, Kun-dga' legs-pa,
Am one who is always on the move.
Poor in food and clothes I am not;
The sentient beings of the six realms prattle childishly;
It is because I cannot stand them that I continue to roam!
I saw the bad signs of too much travel,
At noon I remembered to go inside;
Then, 'I should steal some good beer,' I thought.
But as I went towards the bedroom,
I saw a mother and father 'doing it.'[163]

[29.b-30.a]

The mother spotted me and spoke these words,
'Father! Quit what you are doing!
Don't you know that a boy is coming?'

'Shut your mouth!' the father said.
A boy I need not, but were the demons to come,
I would not stop what I am doing!
Were the Buddhas of the three times to rise
  up as enemies,
I would not postpone my evil sinning!
Were they to say I could gain deliverance,
I would cultivate the seeds of Saṁsāra!
Though certain it is that things are false and delusion,
I accept them as true and continue doing them!
Though cause, however subtle, bears its karmic fruit, [30.a]
I am yet unable to avoid the ten sinful acts!
Though it is true that sentient beings are my parents,[164]
I still must repay injury with injury!'

A house cat then spoke in rejoinder,
'_Sde'o khyad, sde'o khyad, sde'o_!
The lusts are just like salt water;
The more you express them the more you desire
  to express them!
By their expression the father's head becomes
  stupified!

[30.a]

The mother's womb becomes filled with a child!
From that filled (womb) springs an abundance of
children!
Those bags of snot[165] are always wailing and whining;
Pieces of crud are always on their bottoms;
The grass rope at the waist is tied 'round just round just once;[166]
Their hands hold bowls with cracks in the sides;
'Alms!' 'Charity!' are what they say;
A hue and cry of wails and laughter;
A sputtering of farts and diarrhea;
An uproar of destruction and jerking of their heads;
They grumble for (more) food like a 'bri;
Their vegetable stew without salt is bland indeed;
Their broth without meat is just so-so;
Pulverized fodder is bitter indeed;
A flood of beer from rotten malt;
Their chairs of straw always falling apart;
Their stone pillows always rolling about;
Their sack-cloth garments always unravelling;
A girdle of lice rushing back and forth;
A necklace of nits dangling down;
Their cries of misery ring out loudly;
Lenders keep coming back, as if they had slept at the door;
Tax-collectors demanding immediate repayment;
'Bring this!' , 'Fetch that!' they yell loudly;
Alas! These yi-dwags in human form!

[30.a-30.b]

Because in your former life you accumulated no merit,
In this your karma bears its fruit of misery.
Much fiercer than that, though, is the misery of those
born in the lower rebirths.
When the one chance for a human body is gotten, [30.b]
What foolishness not to practice the Dharma!
When one is so fortunate as to have money in the hand,
What foolishness not to give it in charity!
When one's legs are able to support one's body,
What foolishness not to go on pilgrimage!
When one's tongue can move (freely) up and down,
What foolishness not to say a ma-ṇi!
When one is intelligent and clear of mind,
What foolishness not to develop equanimity!
When 'od-gsal[167] is gained without fatigue and distraction,
What foolishness not to do so continually!
When one is careful to behave forthrightly,
What foolishness to indulge in hypocrisy!
When one's pledges are such that they needn't be kept,[168]
What foolishness not to keep them forever!
The fruit which is Buddhahood is inherent within,
Yet outside themselves they strive for it, how foolish!

Again, there was a rooster who spoke in rejoinder,
'O-ong, e-hong! I crow over and over;
Though they have nothing to put in their mouths to eat,

[30.b-31.a]

There is always something coming from their butt, e-hong!
It is not enough that they copulate at night,
During the day they pursue it whenever they can, e-hong!
They give no thought at all to the Autumn,
Yet their desire is great to enjoy the Spring, e-hong!
Ground fodder they add to make their soup,
Yet their minds are dulled through indulgence in carousing, e-hong!
Though on their backs they have no jacket,
The blades of their old long knives prick them, e-hong!
Though they haven't the courage to face up to death,
Yet their drunken speech is mean and contentious, e-hong![169]

Mothers too, e-hong!
Distant are their fields, down below,
Yet like mouths without heads they chatter away, e-hong!
Though the arrangements for their betrothal are not completed,
They behave as if they were married girls, e-hong!
Without feeding the servants properly,
They give orders to "bring this!", "fetch that!", e-hong!
Before (guests) have been properly fed, [31.a]
They make audacious requests to borrow this or that, e-hong!
Without a lock upon their mouths,
They would captivate the minds of soft-spoken men, e-hong!
Without treating their husbands as gods,

[30.b-31.a]

There is always something coming from their butt, e-hong!
It is not enough that they copulate at night,
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They make audacious requests to borrow this or that, e-hong!
Without a lock upon their mouths,
They would captivate the minds of soft-spoken men, e-hong!
Without treating their husbands as gods,

[31.a]

They would relax comfortably in later life, e-hong!
Without abandoning their evil practice of eating in secret,
They are arrogant because of the fortune they have amassed, e-hong!

Young girls, too, e-hong!
Without having offered flowers in their former life,[170]
In this life they're ugly, even for hussies, e-hong!
How can they have a shapely, narrow-waisted figure,
When they were not born from their mother having one, e-hong!
How can beauty bloom upon a face besmeared with butter,
When butter touched not its palate from an early age, e-hong![171]
When their teeth are white, even, and without a spot,
They show off their looks with smiles that expose the gums, e-hong!
When their eyelids are disproportionate to their eyes,
When they wink it is like a glare, e-hong!
Neither thin nor thick, soft nor hard,
When they sing their song is like a wail, e-hong!
Without knowing the outward marks of gracefulness,
Lewdly and darkly do they leer, e-hong!
Of course I have just been making a joke!

Young men, too, e-hong!
Without having studied from the time they were young,
How can they be skilled in conversation, writing and
astrology, e-hong!
Without having lived as the servant of a ruler,
like the nobility they pretend to know everything you tell them,
e-hong!

[31.a-31.b]

Without having seen how their father behaved,
How can they know how to take care of a family, e-hong!
Without having exercised from the time they were young,
They pretend to great marksmanship and fighting skill, e-hong!
Without standing one's ground head-on,
How can they be heros in battle, e-hong!
Without attentive observation wherever they might be, [31.b]
How can they hope to be skilled in dance and song, e-hong'.
Of course I have just been making a joke!

Nuns, too, e-hong!
Never mindful of (the uncertainty of) death,
They make pretences of faith, reverence and devotion, e-hong!
Without having gotten an innocent frame of mind,
When the young ascetics show their white teeth,
With sensuous squirm they serve these lechers, e-hong!
Praises, oblations, self-pacification,
neither night nor day do they spend on such observances;
In contemplative isolation they work with wool, e-hong![172]
Unable to acknowledge thankfully their good fortune,
They earn their food at weeding, e-hong!
Instead of sequestering themselves in the convent,
They work in the kitchens of the village, e-hong!
Instead of wearing old, patched up cloaks,
They wear showy, pleated ceremonial robes, e-hong!
Instead of ringing cymbol and bell,

[31.b-32.a]

Their spoons, charm boxes and keys
Go 'ting ting' and 'clink clink' as these hussies walk by, e-hong!
But of course, let them do whatever they will!

Monks, too, e-hong!
Instead of working to become dge-tshul,
For wealth do they use alms bowl and chab-ril, e-hong![173]
In secret they take food offerings and stick with servant girls,
But in full view they drink beer mixed with water, e-hong![174]
At night they toss barley balls (into their mouths),
But at dinner holy water and rock sugar, e-hong!
For a funeral ceremony they perform their services,
And a marriage arrrangement with the widow, e-hong!
Without knowing how to perform the vow of refuge,
Quickly they run at the start of a feast, e-hong![175]
Instead of wearing their cloak wrapped around and folded,
They cock their hats and sling the shawl about their shoulders, e-hong![176]
Instead of allowing their cloak to trail (loosely),
They tuck it up and stick their knife in (the folds), e-hong![32.a]
Instead of wrapping the rosary around their hands,
They (wear) shoulder and hand bracelets and rings on their fingers, e-hong!
Instead of acting as escort for the fearful,
They work at fighting along narrow pathways, e-hong!
Without smiling (when coming) from a distance,

[32.a]

How can their leers turn the neck of a girl, *e-hong*!
But be still now, *phaṭ*! *phaṭ*!;[177]
There's no limit to such (things) that I could tell!

The *dge-slong*, too, *e-hong*!
The common wealth they hide in their own treasury,
While of their own wealth they give only meager gruel, *e-hong*!
But keep your laughter to yourself!

Physicians, too, *e-hong*!
Instead of following the directions of authoritative books,
Their crude concoctions are measured by eye, *e-hong*!
Instead of being seized with aid-giving compassion,
They are greedy for the feast as their medical fee, *e-hong*!
When they examine the pulse of a poor man,
  darkly they promise great expense, *e-hong*![178]
When they examine the pulse of a beautiful woman,
From head to foot they pinch and make the straight thumb, *e-hong*![179]
Of course this is a joke, don't get upset!

The emanated religious painters, too, *e-hong*![180]
Possessing neither symmetry nor form,
Like contorted reflections (are their images), *e-hong*!
Without making clear in colored pigment an open eye,
How can they depict the complexion of *bla* with red and
  black, *e-hong*![181]
Without thinking of the roots of virtue as their reward,

[32.a-32.b]

They fix their price a bre for each deity, e-hong![182]
Instead of restoring the paintings on the temple walls,
They do a profitable trade in hurried portraits, e-hong!
Even more such bits of gossip do I know;
Though I tell them not, I would like to very much.

Cobblers, too, e-hong!
Neither from Snow Deer hide nor Musk Deer
do they make the uppers (of boots);
Their uppers are of calf and goat hide, e-hong! [32.b]
Instead of bull, wild yak and domestic yak hides,
they make the vamp from dry cow hide, e-hong![183]
Wide instep, comfortable toe, snug at the top,
more like applying than putting on,
making the sound shug-se-shug when walking;
they don't know how to make shoes like that!
Instead when you put them on they're wincingly tight,
making the sound kab-tag kab-tag when walking;
When you take them off you let out a cry,
they make blisters on the end of the big toe,
the skin peels off the callouses of the heels, e-hong!
After three days time they become worn out,
but for three months you nurture your anger, e-hong!
Instead of saying 'Though you give but a small handful,
whatever you pay is okay, your credit is good,'[184]
The instant you set your foot in the door,
'One bre for each (shoe) is the price!' (they say) e-hong!

[32.b-33.a]

If this upsets you brace yourselves!

The weavers too, e-hong!
Right from the beginning when she sets the warp,
should three men come up and touch her waist,
the lice on her bottom should have no chance to itch.[185]
Instead if (even) one man puckers his lips suggestively,
one must sit and wait, e-hong!
Then when she is working on the loom,
her feet weave while her hands keep count, e-hong!
Three times the thread from the box,[186]
each time the yarn gets cut, e-hong!
When the time of completion finally comes,
it (looks like) a loose-weave wicker strainer, e-hong!
To weave woolen cloth such as that,
the weaving fee is a huge container (of grain), e-hong!

Listen further, you who have gathered here!

The silver-smiths too, e-hong!
Thinner than paper are their charm boxes, e-hong! [33.a]
More pliable than musk deer thong are their spoons, e-hong!
More brittle than ice is their delicate filigree, e-hong![187]
Wispier than a horse's tail are their earring wires, e-hong![188]
They set their prices according to the lack of gouges, e-hong!

The black-smiths too, e-hong!
Their knives are neither sharp nor tempered, e-hong!

[33.a]

Their iron spoons are like the thorny gla-ba tree, e-hong![189]
Their plough-shares have not been fire-hardened, e-hong!
Their padlocks are poorly cast, e-hong![190]
Their iron ladles have crooked bowl and handle, e-hong!
Their anvil is an old long stone, e-hong!
Their bellows is an old skin bag tied closed, e-hong!
Their hammer is an old water (-smoothed) rock, e-hong!
Their tongs are old wiping cloths, e-hong!
Their coal is rotten horse dung, e-hong!
Their wealth is the switches of itinerant traders, e-hong![191]
Their preparations for guests are beer and a good
  hearth, e-hong!

The people of Mon too, e-hong!
In the Lord they have no faith, but
  in distant trading they exert themselves, e-hong!
There is no white (virtue) in the produce and fruits of Mon,[192]
  but they load their shoulders with cotton and paper, e-hong!
Rice, iron, medicine, rock-sugar and the like,
  they have no valuable wares such as these;
  instead they travel to sell Guinea pepper and wooden
  ladles, e-hong!
The religious people do not travel on pilgrimage,
  while the irreligious, like demons, practice
  thievery, e-hong!

[33.a-33.b]

The people from Dwags-po too, e-hong!
Handsome young men, like farewell songs, have an excellent nature;
instead these (men of Dwags-po) are the bearers of
goiters, e-hong![193]
They have no religious lamps of the butter variety,
instead their votive lamps use goat and pig fat, e-hong!
They have no peaches of the Indian variety,
instead their Monkey peaches are sour like apricots, e-hong![194]
Their walnuts don't have round nutmeats,
instead these 'mdzo-eyes' must be dug out with needles,
e-hong![195]
Instead of Dwags-po cups and small food bowls, [33.b][196]
their wares of trade are drab cups and old wooden
ladles, e-hong!
Instead of their rugs being level and even,
their rough wool rugs are ugly and decayed, e-hong!
Their forests have not the smell of flowering shrubs,
instead they have lice which eat at the smell of sweat, e-hong!
Instead of singing farewell songs from their mouths,
these jaded old men let farts from their butt, e-hong!

The people from E too, e-hong!
Instead of filling their cloak flap with gold,
the trade goods of the E-pa are old boot straps, e-hong!
Instead of dried meat and fat,
for presents (they give) sealing wax and beer starter, e-hong!

[33.b]

Instead of nuggets of native gold,
their helmets (are adorned) with brass and copper, *e-hong*!

The people from Kong-po too, *e-hong*!
With arrow and in fighting they have no ability,
yet the (men of) Kong brag loudly of their weaponry, *e-hong*!
Instead of trading in horses and brick tea,
(they sell) packs of cups, cane, and Kong tea, *e-hong*![197]
Instead of memorizing the tune of a song,
(they sing) a drunken *oṁ bzang ma-ṇi*, *e-hong*!
Instead of expending one arrow per man,
they shoot the arrow of great boasting, *e-hong*!
Instead of an organized system of order,[198]
hit and miss is their lawless way, *e-hong*!
The women don't give clothes of (pretty) green design,
instead bowls of meal are collected as their fornication fine, *e-hong*![199]
Of course I have just been jesting you!

The people of upper Dbus too, *e-hong*!
Holy lamps and yak meat they do not bring,
instead they load their shoulders with cuts of young goat meat, *e-hong*!
Skull caps of oil and bags of butter they do not bring,
instead their wares are caraway and aprons, *e-hong*!
Pieces of golden-colored cheese they do not bring,
instead they trade in soda and bad meat, *e-hong*!

[33.b-34.a]

The people of Khams too, *e-hong*!
Silver, musk, and gold they have not,
instead drapery fragments and the skin bags of musk deer,
e-hong! [34.a]
Khams knives and grapes they do not bring,
instead they (bring) fire-steel and Mongol needles, *e-hong*!
Every morning they beg for *rtsam-pa*, *e-hong*!
(chanting) *padme-hūṁ-gi-ma-ṇi*, *e-hong*!
They reproach you for not giving enough, *e-hong*!
though they have (possessions) they lead a life of
begging, *e-hong*!

The Chinese and the A-mdo-ba too, *e-hong*!
Unless you give tea or silk,
as guardians of the assembly hall they block the door,
e-hong![200]
Lacking silks and other types of wealth,
they dispatch demons with a bribe of garbage, *e-hong*![201]

The lordly patronized religious teachers too, *e-hong*![202]
Lacking audibility, enunciation, and pleasant voice, these three,
instead they recite mumble-mumble, *e-hong*!
When their hostess approaches them,
they pretend to be reciting aloud, *e-hong*!
Instead of remaining seated on their cushions,
like dogs they race for their meal, stepping on the
Dharma, *e-hong*![203]

[34.a-34.b]

At night instead of meditating their personal deity,
  they listen to hear whether Father and Mother are copulating,
  e-hong![204]
Instead of keeping their self-composure,
  they give the servant girl a pinch, _e-hong_!
Instead of guarding the property and keeping an eye out,
  they poke and pry through the recesses of the storeroom,
  e-hong!
Instead of their entrusted religious duties,
  they display their abilities in nonreligious work, _e-hong_!

The uncle reverends too, _e-hong_![205]
Without a thought for the wealth of patronage, the estates
  and donated fields of the monastery,
  at night they harvest and winnow the ripening ears of grain,
  e-hong!
They give their blessing when the sheaves are finished, _e-hong_![206]
There are more harvesters than harvested ears;[207]
  there is more chaff than grain to be winnowed;
  there are more overseers than servants; [34.b]
  vegetables, raddishes, and meat dishes, _e-hong_!
They squabble with the father over the division of the grain,
  they scratch the housewife beneath the grain pile, _e-hong_![208]
Their possession, though, is one without laughter,
  what they have produced is owed in debt, _e-hong_!
The (debt collectors) chase them with empty sacks loaded

[34.b]

on their shoulder,
many mothers and children cry like mice, e-hong!

Listen once more, this is the way it is!
I the rooster did not stay, I the rooster went away;
I the rooster went to Lha-sa, a place of pilgrimage.
There are there people from Dbus, Gtsang, and (all) the world.

The people from India too, e-hong!
Without exhibiting the signs of Buddhist (spiritual) success,
they put on the garments of He-ru-ka;[209]
nor knowing the evil spells of the Hindus,
they shout their violent magic spells, e-hong!
Without knowing the rituals of the burnt offering,
they blow air, point their finger, and make (mysterious)
glances, e-hong![210]
Without knowing how to blow up skin bags,
along the narrow paths they keep careful watch, e-hong!
Neither the six good things nor amber do they bring,[211]
cowry shells and weed grains are their items of trade, e-hong!
Neither the Indian nor Tibetan speech do they know,
but a broken speech of horrible nature, e-hong!

The people from Nepal too, e-hong!
They know not of the excellent self-originated images of the
deities,
cymbals and li cups for the offering services,[212]

[34.b-35.a]

of the varieties of craft, eighteen in all,
but clay sculpture, charm boxes, and filigree (instead),
e-hong!
Instead of working to finish quickly,
for food (they delay) a full day and half, e-hong!
These Bon-minded men have no regard for the Dharma,
but are servants bearing gifts for the bride, e-hong![213]

The people from Mnga'-ris too, e-hong!
Decorative amber and boxes of gold,
saffron, cloves, and Indian salt,[214]
instead of these they trade in medicinal stones, e-hong!
Stubbornly they refuse whatever you offer (in payment), e-hong!
In anger they speak whatever comes to mind, e-hong![215] [35.a]

The people from Gtsang too, e-hong!
Iron, straw, wool and the like,
the speakers of Gtsang (dialect) haven't such trade goods,
e-hong!
But the inferior nature of their peppery curds, e-hong!
their shawl wool and their ever carousing, e-hong!
their pendants of blue do-lo stone, e-hong![216]
in these and sealing wax of mud they bargain, e-hong!
While they themselves are without trousers,
their brides have amber about the neck, e-hong!

The people from Lho-kha too, e-hong!
They don't kill ducks for religious gifts, e-hong!

[35.a-35.b]

Dregs of fermented beer for their food offerings, *e-hong*!
Little fish, burnt and dried for their meat offerings, *e-hong*!
Khyen-cha and *'an-ci'i* they say, *e-hong*![217]
These leather caps in finest dress are the guests of brides, e-hong![218]

The secretaries too, *e-hong*!
Their *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, and *nga* look like (frightful) masks;[219]
Their *ca*, *cha*, *ja*, and *nya* like little spoons;
Their *ta*, *tha*, *da*, and *na* like spindly horses;
Their *pa*, *pha*, *ba*, and *ma* like earthen livestock enclosures;
Their *tsa*, *tsha*, *dza*, and *wa* like goat horn plants;[220]
Their *zha*, *za*, *'a*, and *ya* like *dug chal*;[221]
Their *ra*, *la*, *sha*, and *sa* like *thag chal*;
Their *ha* and *a* like ransom images;[222]
Such is the way of the official secretaries.
Lackluster is their charcoal ink, *e-hong*!
Like splintered bows their Tamarisk quills, *e-hong*!
Their paper, the severed pages of the Dharma, *e-hong*!
In drunken confusion they write in haste, *e-hong*!
Their writings a collection of improper spellings, *e-hong*!
Above *ra* they attach a *ra*, *e-hong*![223]
To *pa* these secretaries attach a *ha*, *e-hong*!
As prefixes they write (every letter) from *ka* on down, *e-hong*!

The wool-making sisters too, *e-hong*!
With the speed of an ass (they make) their yarn, *e-hong*! [35.b]

[35.b]

Like meat-eating (demons) they backbite, e-hong!
Sitting on the roof their thumbs spin, e-hong!
Clothes from Mon look like tassles of chaff, e-hong!
(Drooping) like the ass's cock their plaited strands, e-hong!
Like a man rooted to earth their plaited mats, e-hong!
A tangled mess their ball of yarn, e-hong!
Like raveled rug cloth their wool, e-hong!

There are many (things) such as these.
Hopped up on tea have I spoken.
Drunk on beer have I spoken out.
The speech of the rooster have I told.
Let it be known!
Those who have but cannot eat get dust in their mouth![224]
Those who have not, but who desire to eat, get dust in their
  mouth!
Those guests who are invited, but do not come, get dust in
  their mouth!
Those uninvited guests (who do come), like hungry gods,
  get dust in their mouth!
Those gnas-mo of Lha-sa, who know the (latest) news, get dust
  in their mouth!
Those cheating and deceitful bla-ma get dust in their mouth!

Joy, be it known!
  is the obtainment of this very human body, be it known!
Misery, be it known!

[35.b-36.a]

  is the very lack of this holy Dharma, be it known!
Sadness, be it known!
  is this very necessity of going to hell, be it known!
Happiness, be it known!
  is this very practice of counting _ma-ṇi_, be it known!
Smiling laughter and good fortune!

All you market folk of the region,
In the future turn your thoughts to religion;[225]
For the present this speech is beneficial.
Let those who understand say it as a teaching of good fortune!
Let those who do not understand say it in song and story!
Let the aged say it to console themselves!
Let the young say it in joyful spontaneity!
Let young girls say it as a memento!
Let children [36.a] shout it in play!"

* * *

FOOTNOTES

1. Rdo-rje-'chang or Vajradhara is both the primordial and archetypal Tantric divinity. He is particularly important for the Bka'-brgyud-pa sect in that its teachings were first revealed by him in four transmissions, one of which passed directly through Sa-ra-ha. Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long, folio 2.a-b. He is also the deity to which the Tantric yogi homologizes himself in meditation. For an iconographical description, see Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, 1st Tuttle ed. (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1962), pp. 4-5.

2. The term gsang sngags chos is the most common expression in Tibetan for what is referred to as Tantric Buddhism. Tibetans distinguish between the byang-chub lam or Bodhisattva path, the more conventional Mahāyāna path, and the gsang-sngags lam, the "Tantra" path. The former is virtually always regarded as a prerequisite for the practice of the latter, though many Tibetans were skeptical of this arrangement. The controversy arises in one of our stories below.

3. The Vinaya is one of the main collections of Buddhist canonical scripture, dealing with the rules and regulations of monastic life, as well as with proper behavior for laymen.

4. Recall that liberation is obtained through a process of reversal. Through the use of profanity the concept of profane versus pure disappears.

5. A mantra used for many purposes, often to effect ritual transformation of an ordinary object to a divine state. The implication here is that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs quickly dispells criticisms from his mind, with the attitude of "who cares?" Stein has also translated this verse R. A. Stein, "Un saint poète tibetain," Mercure de France, (July-Aug., 1964), p. 488.

6. Bsngags-btsun is a title or rank which I have not been able to identify.

7. The _Mkha'-'gro-ma'i snying khrid_ is the title of a number of meditative ritual guidebooks. The term _snying_ "heart" in the title, of course, is not meant in a literal sense.

8. 'Brug-pa Kun'legs's argument is based on the fact that, in Central Tibetan dialects, _glo_ and _blo_ are pronounced identically, as are _sgyu-ma_ and _rgyu-ma_ in the following sentence.

9. _Thabs lam smad_ refers to ritualized sexual practices. Sometimes it is abbreviated to _thabs lam_. Elsewhere 'Brug-pa Kun-legs says, "I haven't bragged of my _thabs-lam_ (practices), for I have merely produced a son like the son of a deity" (thabs lam gyi kha po ma thon te // bu lha phrug 'dra ba rkyang pa skyes //." _Ka_ 94.a.

10. In a society where religious dress was as much a fixed tradition of a particular sect as its teachings, the dress of the itinerant yogi could draw considerable comment. Such was the case with Mi-la-ras-pa and the saintly madmen of later centuries. Gtsang-smyon-pa was also questioned once about his dress, and his reply, though sarcastic, is short and to the point, differing markedly from that of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs in this episode. The difference is a measure of the character of the men themselves, rather than of what they taught and stood for. On one occasion, some monks from Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs questioned Gtsang-smyon-pa, saying, "We have not heard of the Buddha having spoken of such a way of dress, nor of your way of behavior. Nor are there any previous examples (of it). To whose system belongs your manner of dress and behavior?' From the lord of yogis the reply came, 'Of animals, the ant sees not the mountain; the frog of the market place reaches not the edge of the ocean; a child's skin covers not the sky. The religious teachings and pieces of information of which you have not heard are many indeed. If there are no previous examples of such dress as this, then did

there not also previously exist the deities of the Secret Mantra, nor the one hundred and ten great siddhas of India? Haven't you even seen them drawn on paintings? This way of dress and behavior of mine has in general been described in the _anuttara_ tantras of the _gsang sngags_, and in particular by the _Brtag-gnyis_, the contracted version of the fundamental _Hevajra Tantra_.'" ('di 'dra'i cha lugs rang spyod pa sangs rgyas kyi gsungs pa ni nged kyi ma thos sngar byung ba'i gab le 'ang mi 'dug khyod kyi cha lugs dang spyod pa 'di su'i lugs yin zer tshe / rnal 'byor dbang phyug gyi zhal nas / srog chags grog mos ri mi mthong / khrom pa'i rbal (sic) pas rgya mtsho'i mtha' mi rnyed / byis pa'i pag pas nam mkha' mi khyeb (sic)/ khyod kyi ma thos pa'i chos dang shes bya mangs nas med / cha lugs 'di 'dra sngar byung ba'i gab le med na gsang bsngags (sic) kyi lha rnams dang / rgya gar gyi grub chen brgya bcu rnams kyang sngar ma byung ba yin nam / tha na ri mor bris pa 'dra yang ma mthong ngam / kho bo'i cha lugs dang dpyod pa 'di spyir rdo rje 'chang gi gsang sngags bla med kyi rgyud rnams dang / khyad par dpal dges (sic) pa rdo rje'i rtsa ba'i rgyud sdus pa dpal rtag (sic) pa gnyis nas 'di ltar bshad gsung.) _The Life of the Saint of Gtsang_, folio 23.a.

11. This is an elaboration on the familiar proverb, "Every region its own dialect, every _bla-ma_ his own sect." See Marion H. Duncan, _Love Songs and Proverbs of Tibet_ (London: Mitre Press, 1961), p. 204.

12. A contemporary and friend of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs who lived 1452-1507; the author of the biography and collected songs of Mi-la-ras-pa, as well as several other works.

13. Dbus-smyon-pa Kun-dga'-bzang-po was another contemporary. Modern Tibetan sources record his birth date as 1458.

14. The number of folds or pleats in a monastic dress is strictly determined by custom, and each pleat symbolizes a certain thing. In general,

the Dge-lugs-pa and other semi-reformed sects have very few pleats, and look down on the Rnying-ma-pa system, in this and other respects.

15. The Orgyan-paṇ-zhwa (~ -zhu) is one of several types of hats associated with Padmasambhava, and thereafter with the Rnying-ma-pa sect in general. See Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, pp. 342-349.

16. It is uncertain just who the *dkar-po-pa* were. Perhaps they were another bardic group, or perhaps, as Stein suggests, the phrase refers to the *dkar-brgyud-pa*, a variant of *bka'-brgyud-pa* used by some 'Brug-pa writers to suggest the white meditation garment of the yogi. *Ibid*., p. 408.

17. This reference is unknown to me and none of my informants could provide any information. There is a Ha valley in western Bhutan, however, and perhaps the location of the nunnery is in that area.

18. The term *'bar-zhwa* is not known to me. Snellgrove has translated it as "strange kind of hat," but admits not knowing its exact meaning. David L. Snellgrove, trans., *Four Lamas of Dolpo*, vol. I (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1967), p. 224, fn. 2. Stein notes that the metallic disc on the front of certain hats is referred to as a burning jewel (*nor 'bar*), so *'bar-zhwa* may simply be a generic term for any hat set with a mirror or reflective stone. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée*, p. 346.

19. This meaning of *stug-chas* was supplied by Sde-gzhung rin-po-che (hereafter referred to as R., or rin-po-che), who also suggested the idea of "diapers."

20. That is, minor deities or demigods. The proverb is based on analogy with the belief that those born in a Buddhist country have achieved great merit in previous births. To be born in the spiritual center of that country would therefore indicate even greater spiritual status.

21. bskor-ba 'gro-ba also means to go on pilgrimage, and the two ideas tend to overlap in Tibetan texts.

22. Gshin-rje chos-rgyal is the Lord of Death who judges one's sins and virtues after death. The pleading of one's case before the lord of death seems well attested in Tibetan literature concerning bar-do, the after-death state. Oral testimony is not, however, sufficient to determine one's fate. For this Gshin-rje-chos-rgyal relies on the Mirror of Karma, and/or the weighing of black and white stones, representing bad and evil deeds respectively. This feature will be seen further on in this story. See W.Y. Evans-Wentz, ed., The Tibetan Book of the Dead, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 35-39.

23. Glossed by Tibetans as the trilogy Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha, or monastic order.

24. Literally, a-lad-ma rtse skam. The term a-lad-ma means a doll, but the phrase is difficult to construe.

25. The term sras-po is used of spiritual sons or disciples, as well as sons in the physical sense. Here it may refer to 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's son Zhing-skyong 'brug-grags and some other disciples.

26. This same story, word for word, is found in another collection of stories by Kun-dga'-rten-'brel-rab-'byor, entitled Bya bral pa kun dga' rang grol dang sprang byang chub seng ges gtsos chos kyi rgyal pos bka'i 'phrin lon pa skya bo pho mo'i rnam thar dang phyogs mtshungs sngon 'gro'i chos mtshan bcas kyi dkar chag bzhugs so, "Table of contents to the tales of the ascetic Kun-dga'-rang-grol, the beggar Byang-chub-seng-ge, and other laymen and laywomen who received decrees from (Gshin-rje) chos-kyi-rgyal-po, together with an appropriate introductory prayer-book." This book consists of twelve independently paginated stories, which the editor informs us are

accurate accounts of what Tibetans call 'das-log, people who have come back from the dead and make use of their special dispensation to urge others to turn to religion. It is said to have been printed from blocks located in the house of Ka-shod-pa, named Gser-lcog. The blocks to one printing of the Ge-sar epic were also located there, and the colophon of the latter text indicates that Gser-lcog was in Gtsang. Stein has referred to this print and concluded that it could not be earlier than the first quarter of the 18th century. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée, p. 70. The colophon and arrangement of the introductory prayers would suggest that both the Ge-sar text and the 'das-log text were printed at about the same time. The 'das-log text version ends abruptly with the phrase "Recite your ma-ṇi!" found in the middle of folio 5.a of the 'Brug-pa Kun-legs version (except that the immediately preceding sentences, inserted as afterthoughts by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, are not included either). Right after this phrase, the 'das-log text includes the verse found on folio 8.b of our rnam-thar (number 6 below). These facts, in addition to certain orthographical peculiarities common to both the 'das-log text and our version, would suggest some mutual interrelationship. Perhaps the later version was copied from the 'Brug-pa Kun'legs biography, omitting certain parts.

27. Vajrabhairava is an aspect of Gshin-rje-gshed (Skt. Yamāntaka), the "Conqueror of Death," and would therefore prove helpful in the present instance. See Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 164.

28. The bskyed-rim is a fundamental part of Tantric meditation. It means "process of generation," and refers to the meditative generation of a divinity and the ritual transformation on oneself into that divinity. It is one member of a trilogy of ritual meditative processes frequently treated by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs in his yogic songs. The other two members are the

rdzogs rim or "process of perfection," and the zung-'jug or "unification."

29. The lhan-cig-skyes-pa'i lha and lhan-cig-skyes-pa'i 'dre: the "co-born divinity" and the "co-born demon." These deities are not Buddhist in origin, but have entered into the popular religious tradition. Every person on birth has one of each of these born with him. Among other things, they keep an account of all the good and evil deeds that a person commits. At death, as the story shows, they recount these deeds in the presence of the Lord of Death. See W.Y. Evans-Wentz, ed., The Tibetan Book of the Dead, pp. 165-166.

30. The phrase lha-ma-srin sde brgyad is certainly a variant of the grouping lha-sri(n) sde brgyad. They seem to be a set of malicious spirits that often accompany other, more important and dreaded protective deities. Rène de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1956), pp. 158, 260, 515.

31. La-phogs-skyes was the given neme of Mo'u-gal-gyi-bu (Skt. Maudgalyāyana), who is famous in Buddhist stories for having saved his mother from hell. See the 'das-log xylograph mentioned above, chapter Ta, folio 1.b. One version of the story is given by L. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamism, reprint of 2nd ed. (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Lts., 1967), pp. 98-99.

32. The 'das-log text (folio 3.a) reads gnyis ka sdug bde yin.

33. The text between here and verse 6 below is not included in the 'das-log version.

34. Conch-teeth, dung-so, according to Nornang, are extra teeth which appear especially between the two front, upper teeth, and are said to be a sign of goodness and virtue. Two of my informants report having seen examples of this phenomenon.

35. The image of Jo-bo Rin-po-che, Shākya-muni, is probably the most important object of Tibetan pilgrimage, having allegedly been brought to Tibet by the Chinese wife of Srong-btsan sgam-po in the seventh century. A special building, the Jo-khang, was built to hold it. On this tradition, see David Snellgrove & Hugh Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 73-74.

36. Traversing the path to salvation is a common subject of analogy in Buddhist literature of all periods.

37. The Thought of Enlightenment refers to a vow taken in the Mahāyāna tradition, to spend one's life in an attempt to aid all sentient beings achieve salvation. In the mystical physiology of the Tantra it is analogized to the male element, represented by sperm.

38. Mahāyāna Buddhists divide all sentient beings into six classes or "destinies": gods (lha), men (mi), asuras or demons (lha-ma-yin), animals (dud-'gro), ghosts (yi-dwags), and creatures in the various hells (dmyal-ba).

39. The term nyog khyad is probably related to nyag-nyog, used in some regions to refer to women, in others to children (R.) It probably has the connotation of "confused one," or "dear, little one." See H. A. Jäschke, Tibetan English Dictionary, s. v. nyag-mo.

40. The use of rnam-thar here cannot be translated literally. By rnam-thar, Tibetans understand the lives of great religious men, the hearing or reading of which causes the seeds of complete spiritual liberation (rnam-thar) to be planted in the mind. This is the implication of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's use of the term

41. Ma dang mkha'-'gro(-ma) would normally refer to the great female deities, principally Tārā, and the Ḍākinīs of the meditative realm. The term is also used of Tantric consorts, and when 'Brug-pa Kun-legs mentions

them, there is always the suggestion of an attachment considerably less than spiritual.

42. As has recently been pointed out by John Blofeld, one of the prime objectives of Tantric meditative endeavor is to visualize all appearance as deity, and to hear all sound as *mantra*. John Blofeld, *The Way of Power* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1970), pp. 76-78. *Hevajra Tantra* I.vi.23-24 suggests this. "Free from learning and ceremony and any cause of shame, the yogin wanders, filled with great compassion in his possession of a nature that is common to all beings. (24) He has passed beyond oblations, renunciations, and austerities, and is freed from mantra and meditation. Released from all the conventions of meditation, the yogin performs the practice." (Snellgrove translation). The Sanskrit commentary by Kāṅha makes clear the principle that, having achieved this high spiritual state, one's every action is sacred. "The phrase beginning with 'oblations' means that his great devotion to Hevajra constitutes for himself (the yogi) the best of *yoga* practices, and thus he establishes himself firmly in it. The exterior forms of those things, beginning with 'oblations', these he gives up completely. Why is that? It is because he possesses the self of Hevajra, and (thus) whatever he eats constitutes an 'oblation'; his service to his ritual consort constitutes *yoga* (with Hevajra); his every bodily act constitutes an austerity. The sound of his *ḍamaruka* and his holding the *khaṭvāṅga* constitute *mantra* and deep concentration. *Vajra* song and dance also constitute *mantra* and deep concentration. Thus, whatever he does constitutes 'pledge' (*s̀amaya* : *dam-tshig*); whatever he does not do constitutes 'vow' (*sdom-pa* : *samvara*)." See Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, pt. II, p. 120, for the Sanskrit text.

43. The Tibetan term *lhun-grub* has been dealt with extensively by

Herbert Guenther, trans., *The Royal Song of Saraha* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1969), p. 76, where he translates it by "transcendent immanence."

44. The two accumulations (*tshogs*) are those of wisdom (*ye-shes*) and merit (*bsod-nams*).

45. Tibetans use the term "old mother" (*ma rgan*) in the sense that at some time during the many eons of one's rebirths, every creature has been one's mother. Therefore one should treat every creature in this lifetime as if they were one's mother.

46. Nornang says that during a fast day, it is the general practice to eat no meat whatsoever, and to have no meals between noon and midnight. Garlic is especially forbidden because of its powerful odor. There is a Tibetan proverb which says, "Whether you eat much or little garlic, it makes no difference." Marion H. Duncan, *Love Songs and Proverbs*, p. 174.

47. I am uncertain as to the exact sense of these items. The *chu-sbyin gtor-ma*, or food offering, probably has to do with the production of water to feed the thirsty *yi-dwags*. After their use in ritual, *gtor-ma* are customarily thrown out for this purpose as an act of compassion and generosity.

48. As noted, the *yi-dwags* (Skt. *preta*) are a class of sentient beings condemned to be ever thirsty and hungry. This characteristic is intended by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and other writers when they refer to greedy and gluttonous people as *yi-dwags*.

49. That is to say, they suffered from malnutrition. *'Jag-ma* is a type of very tough, inedible straw. It is used in some areas for thatching roofs.

50. The *'bri* or *'bri-mo* is the female of the Yak (*g.yag*), the latter term being properly used to refer only to the male of the species.

51. The *dge-bsnyen* is the first of the three monastic orders, followed

by dge-tshul and dge-slong, the last being the fully ordained monk.

52. A-ro Ye-shes-'byung-gnas was an early teacher in Tibet, probably an Indian. His story is included in the Blue Annals. Roerich, The Blue Annals, vol. 2, pp. 999-1000. I have not seen a copy of his biography.

53. Gnas-mo can mean hostess, housewife, female inn-keeper, often combining all these features in one. They are referred to frequently in the literature as the women who operate many of the inns which serve travelers and caravans. Their questionable moral character is often implied in the stories of 'Brug-pa Kun'legs.

54. A central country, as opposed to a border country (mtha' khob), is one in which the teachings of the Buddha have spread.

55. The following verse is included in the 'das-log xylograph mentioned above.

56. Ra-ksha-glang-mgo is an assistant of Gshin-rje-chos-rgyal.

57. Here, and in popular Tibetan literature in general, the term ass is frequently used metaphorically to mean the average, lowly Tibetan peasant. Thus in the Mgur-'bum of Mi-la-ras-pa, folios 331.b-332.a.

58. One mtho is approximately eight inches.

59. Sngo-khrol-le(-ba) is one of a series of adjectives indicating the relative degree of a color. Parallel forms are nag-mthing-nge(-ba) "dark bluish," sngo-mthing-nge(-ba) "dark greenish," and ser-lhag-ge(-ba) "yellowish. The derivation of the second member of these forms is not always clear.

60. Skya-'bab-be-ba. One informant suggested "uniformly white."

61. A brdal-phyar is a large, flat bamboo basket, used for winnowing grain or cooling barley mash. It is similar to a zhib-ma but much larger. See the Glossary for further treatment.

62. Tibetan beer starter, like that for sake, contains not only yeast

but also mold spores of the genus Aspergillus. This fact was confirmed by clinical analysis performed for me on a sample of phabs, by Dr. Howard Douglas of the University of Washington School of Medicine. The usual translations of phabs and chang-rtsi as "yeast" must therefore be rejected, as the diastatic action of the mold is essential in the conversion of barley starch to alcohol, passing first through the sugar state.

63. Tibetan pharmacological manuals list several varieties of 'khan-pa or mkhan-pa, white, cream (skya), red and black. It is related to wormwood and its chief medicinal use is in the halting of bleeding and the reduction of swellings due to wounds and bruises. Black 'khan-pa is also burned as a fumigant, said to lessen muscular aches. Its scientific value in the brewing process is uncertain, unless in some way it can aid in destroying Lactobacillus, the organism chiefly responsible for souring in beer. Dil-dmar-dge-bshes Bstan-'dzin-phun-tshogs, Bdud rtsi snam gyi dbye ngo bo nus ming rgyas par bshad pa dri med shes phreng, chapter 6, folios 119.b-120.a, ed. T.Y. Tashigang, Principles of Lamaist Pharmacognosy (Leh, 1970). This text was completed in 1727.

64. I fail to see any scientific rationale for this rather oblique passage, but don't question the truth of it.

65. A dgra-lha especially popular among the Rnying-ma-pa. He has several forms and emanations. The idea here is for the gnas-mo to act so ferociously as to keep people from stealing bites of the mash, which Tibetans sometimes eat as a food in itself, mixing it with melted butter. On this deity see Rene de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, pp. 320-322. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, vol. 2, pp. 589, 603.

66. Translation of this line uncertain.

67. Ral-pa-can often refers to the hairstyle of Tantric yogis.

68. On the phud-gtor, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, p. 401.

69. Chos-skyong and bsrung-ma are classes of protective deities with many members and sub-groupings.

70. These are local spirits attached to certain fields, etc. They often have considerable power to create calamities if offended.

71. On sngo-khrol-le-ba, see above, p.99, footnote 59.

72. This sentence is obscure. The term ja-dan is unknown to me; perhaps ja-rten is meant.

73. This sentence is also obscure. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che thought there might be something sexually suggestive in the epithet.

74. Yab-phu(d) is an estate and valley in the region of Stod-lung, west of Lha-sa. One of the Dga'-ldan Khri rin-po-che, Thub-bstan-lung-rtogs-rnam-rgyal-phrin-las was born there (b.1903). ("Lha-sa'i nub phyogs yab phu zhes par 'khrungs"). T. G. Thongthog, Important Events in Tibetan History, p. 63.

75. A small wicker winnowing basket.

76. The following song is one of many examples in the literature of the saintly madmen where everyday household arts and occupations are used as the basis for complicated metaphorical songs of high spiritual achievement. The mystical aspect of chang, however, is not an original conception of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. Its origins are to be found in the milieu of the Indian Tantric masters. Like holy water, ordinary beer is transformed by the Buddhist ritualist into bdud-rtsi, the nectar kept in bowls for the deities to drink on the Tibetan altar. There is a subtle bdud-rtsi, however, produced during meditation, in the thousand-petaled lotus at the top of the head. During this peak meditative experience it drips down in an endless

flow through the aspirant's body producing an indescribable joy, purifying and immortalizing every limb. The process is described by Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, vol. 1, pp. 35-39. Mi-la-ras-pa also composed a very beautiful song about the "beer of the yogi," an elixer which he "drinks" during meditation (Mgur-'bum, folios 291.a-292.b). 'Brug-pa Kun-legs may have used it as a model. A very similar song of unknown authorship, but used in the marriage festival, has been recorded by the Rev. H. Hanlon, "The Folk-songs of Ladak and Baltistan," Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, vol. 2 (London, 1893), pp. 626-7, song no. 102. The use of chang as a symbol of immortality is also important in the tshe-dbang or "Life Consecration" rituals. See Luther G. Jerstad, Mani-Rimdu, Sherpa Dance-Drama (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), pp. 102-6. David Snellgrove, Himalayan Pilgrimage (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1961), p. 143.

77. Rgyal-ba'i dkyil-'khor (Skt. Vijaya-maṇḍala) is often used to refer to the body of the meditator. Mi-la-ras-pa says, "In my own body, the Maṇḍala of Victory, the deities and the spirit of the Buddhas of the three times dwell," (nga rang lus rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor na // lha dus gsum bde gshegs snying po bzhugs//,) Gsung-'bum, folio 261.b. The term refers also to the second of the three states of samādhi which make up the bskyed-rim of the anuttarayoga tantras. Lessing & Wayman, Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras, p. 223. This and most of the other technical terms used in this song are much too complicated to be explained in detail here. The ritual scheme which 'Brug-pa Kun-legs follows involves basically the transformation of self into deity, known by the term bdag-bskyed, "generation of self." When used as a technique of private meditation, the technical terminology of the mystical physiology comes into play, as in this song. Most of the

terms used here are subjective categories belonging to the meditative, as opposed to the philosophical realm.

78. The number of hearth stones is generally three. In the beer-drinking song of Mi-la-ras-pa mentioned above, three stones represent body, speech, and mind. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs here reduces the number to two to fit the analogy.

79. Chos-sku, longs-spyod-sku, and sprul-sku are spoken of as "fruitional" ('bras-bu'i) when they refer to meditative levels achieved by an initiate.

80. Nornang explains the three layers to mean byams-pa "love," thugs-rje "compassion," and byang-chub-sems "boddhicitta."

81. There is no question of the sexual meaning here. The phrase stu la zhon occurs at Ka 135.b, line three.

82. Kong glu probably refers to a traditional melody. The one sung below begins with the verse Tsho mo de bsam grub lo mo de gru bzhi. In volume Ka (folio 142.b) there is another Kong glu, beginning with the verse phya mo de a lo la mo de la mo.

83. The second Dalai Lama, whose dates were 1475-1542.

84. Dka'-bcu-pa is an academic rank below Dge-bshes. See Alice Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. xxxvii.

85. The religious name of Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419), founder of the Dge-lugs-pa sect.

86. Nag-chang is an abbreviation of nag-mo dang chang, "women and beer." The phrase chang-nag occurs in the historical chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, which Tucci has properly translated as "drink and women." Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, vol. 2, p. 635 and footnote 187.

87. The Bon religion and its adherents are a constant object of abuse

by 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. He treats them as the practitioners of elaborately complicated but spiritually empty rituals.

88. On these terms, see pt. III, footnote 28.

89. This refers to Atīśa and his three disciples Khu-ston Brtson-'grus g.yung-drung, Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab, and 'Brom-ston.

90. The term *gal-te* means a saddlebag with a compartment on either side. The loose pages of Tibetan books frequently get mixed up, but those unable to understand what they read don't even notice the problem. The books of the Bon-po are filled with complicated allusions and terms which the majority of Tibetans don't understand.

91. Gshen-rab mi-bo was the legendary founder of the Bon system.

92. That is, those who wait outside the sanctuary for the *gtor-ma* to be thrown out to the *yi-dwags* after the ritual. Hungry beggars are known to do this.

93. *Byin-(b)rlabs* is empowered blessing from a teacher to a disciple. Like other forms of spiritual power, it can be dissipated through misuse.

94. Rin-po-che says that this refers to those beggars who pretend to be Tantric yogis, inhabiting the mountains, as aneasy way of getting offerings of food and clothing.

95. The term *nyo-chang* means something like "carousing." It implies one who spends his time and money at inns, buying beer and flirting with the serving girls. In Tibet, buying beer is an exception, rather than the rule, where most families make their own. Husbands are often referred to as addicted to this practice, while their families stay at home hungry.

96. In meditation, one creates a *maṇḍala* (*dkyil-'khor*) wherein the entire universe is microcosmically represented.

97. That is, keep them always foremost in mind. In iconography, the

Buddha of which a Bodhisattva is emanated is represented as a small figure carved at the forehead of the latter.

98. This sentence is obscure. The term rkyal, a leather "bag" or "sack," is often used to refer derogatorily to the body. The sense seems to be that quack doctors merely poke and prod the patient, without knowledge of what they're doing.

99. Lo-skor refers to the cycle of the twelve animals, which, combined with the cycle of the five elements, forms the sixty year cycle on which Tibetan dating is based.

100. Unidentified.

101. The'u-rang are a class of demons that perform delusive magic. The'u-rang rkang-gcig is a protective deity of this type. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons, p. 101.

102. Perhaps "spirit" or "soul" is meant here.

103. Btang 'gro bzhag sdod, literally "goes where sent, stays were put." The phrase occurs again below in another song. This meaning was explained by Nornang.

104. The phrase lkog-tu za-ba has the literal sense of eating in secret, keeping the best food aside for oneself. In addition, however, it carries the connotation of accepting bribe money, and, with respect to housewives, prostitution.

105. A cross between a g.yag and an ordinary cow, prized for its domestic value and as a pack animal.

106. i.e., bent over.

107. Translation uncertain.

108. Apparently alluding to the fact that weeds grow so quickly and well, the field resembles one of planted grain, ready for Autumn harvesting.

109. Translation of this line uncertain.

110. A *mang-ja* is a festival gathering of an entire monastic population, usually sponsored by a wealthy patron who receives special ritual services performed in his honor.

111. For a discussion of these centers, see pt. I, footnote 63.

112. *Mtshan-nyid-pa thog cig*. The word *thog* is used in this text as an indefinite article. A *mtshan-nyid-pa* is an academician, one who has studied and contemplated the authoritative Buddhist texts on logic, Mādhyamika, Prajñāparamitā, monastic discipline and Abhidharma, but who has not devoted himself to meditation. The frequent "logician" is an inadequate translation.

113. The Ha-shang (Chin. 和尚) Ma-hā-yā-na was the chief Chinese spokesman for the "instantaneous" method during the great religious debate at Bsam-yas monastery (c.792). The proponent of the Indian viewpoint, Kamala-śīla, was victorious, and ever since that time the Chinese argument has been regarded by Tibetans as an unorthodox system. See Paul Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952), passim. There are, however, a number of similarities between the Chinese view (*lta-ba*) and the Mahāmudrā, and Tibetans of other schools occasionally criticized it for this reason.

114. On '*du-shes med-pa* (Skt. *asaṁjñin*) as a characteristic of those inhabiting the realm of the gods, see H. Guenther, trans., *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation, by sGam-po-pa* (London: Rider & Co., 1959), p. 122.

115. See below, footnote 118.

116. *Dpag-tshad* is the equivalent of Sanskrit *yojana*, a measure of uncertain length, but often given as one mile.

117. These are given in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, nos. 8420-3.

118. As mentioned above, the yogic control of wind is not to be confused

with wind madness. The practice is Indian in origin. We are told of one Indian yogi who, because of the power he obtained through the practice of "wind yoga," became stronger than one hundred elephants and could travel in the sky for a distance of one yojana. Tāranātha, Bka'babs bdun ldan, folio 67.b. We are told of Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras that "he gained skills similar to those of Lord Mi-la, such as mixing the inner and outer winds, and not being obstructed by walls (i.e. he could pass through them)." (rlung phyi nang sre ba dang rtsig pa la ma thogs pa sogs rje mi la'i yon tan lta bu byung), Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston, chapter Na, folio 56.b. Grub-mtha' shel-kyi-me-long, folio 12.a. See also Alexandra David-Neel, Magic and Mystery in Tibet (New York: University Books, 1958), pp. 119-216. G. Tucci, Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley (Calcutta: The Greater India Society, 1940), p. 28.

119. Bcud-len is variously described as the taking of nourishment by licking certain stones, and a yogic achievement whereby yogis can go for long periods of time without eating. Tāranātha describes it as one of the "ordinary yogic achievements" (thun-mongs-pa'i dngos-grub). Tāranātha, Bka' babs bdun ldan, folio 17.a.

120. Compare Mgur-'bum, folio 64.a. The argument seems obscure.

121. That is, he talked too much. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs is here countering the argument that the Dkar-brgyud-pa ignore the majority of the authoritative canonical works, merely relying on certain Tantric practices to achieve liberation. He also criticises the other extreme spoken by the ascetic, that studying the scriptures is unnecessary.

122. That is, the Tantric method does not derive from ritual practices of recent invention.

123. Dbu-ma here means the central "vein" in the psycho-physiological

body of the meditator.

124. 'dren, "leading" refers to the practice of leading or drawing back semen, i.e. semen retention.

125. One loses one's balance and falls down.

126. Rgyal-rtse and other forts (rdzong) in Tibet are often built on top of steep-sloped hills, and the towns which grow up around them are frequently called zhol, "below," that is, located at the base of the hill.

127. I.e., the erroneous idea that certain things are true and others false.

128. So-(sor-)thar-pa (Skt. pratimokṣa) are the standard monastic vows elaborated in the Vinaya.

129. Tshul-khrims or "laws" is here equivalent to so-thar. Yellow without refers to the wearing of yellow monastic robes.

130. Nus-pa here means an enabling impetus sparked by an idea planted in the mind.

131. That is to say, the idea of turning to licentious behavior becomes planted in his mind.

132. I.e., the beggars holding the empty spoons.

133. In a polyandrous marriage, an elder brother has conjugal rights to the wife of a younger brother.

134. The food portions they give to their servants and to beggars.

135. A colloquial expression referring to their abstinence from sex.

136. See above, footnote 92.

137. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che explains that a bad wife leaves for her husband's home, but is rejected and sent back the next day. Sang phyin gnang log is thus a colloquial expression which cannot be literally translated.

138. Zab-zab-gzigs-gzigs, a very colloquial phrase. For zab, compare

Jäschke, s.v. gzab-pa. Also S.C. Das, A Tibetan English Dictionary, s.v. bzabs.

139. A vulgar insult, equivalent to "dog," a scoundrel. According to my informants, the term derives from the fact that the servants of the nobility customarily wore red or maroon garments. The servants of a rdzong-dpon in particular are said to be notorious for their thievery and general mischief-making. The term occurs also at Ka 115.b.

140. This is the original version of the story told to Sarat Chandra Das at Gyangtse in 1882. S.C. Das, Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet (London: John Murray, 1902), pp. 92-4. It offers us the opportunity to study the development and elaboration of folk material transmitted orally. There are some differences between the two versions. For example, the event is said to have taken place in Lha-sa; the amber is said to have been replaced by apples instead of radishes; the illustrative story is said to have happened in India, etc.

141. Thugs-dam here in the more literal sense of a vivid mental image.

142. He-ru-ka again means a Tantric yogi.

143. Large monasteries are often divided up into "colleges" or "schools," each specializing in a different branch of Buddhist study.

144. According to Buddhist theory, the worldly and human situation becomes more and more degraded with the passage of time. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che says that Tibetans refer to the present day and age as gsum-cu'i kha ral, when people lose their teeth at the age of thirty.

145. Pho-brang Yang-rtse was founded by Bkra-shis dpal-bzang as the center of the Bya myriarchy. See G. Tucci, trans., Deb T'er Dmar-po Gsar ma, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1971), p. 238. A tshogs-'khor is a religious feast, usually lasting several days,

during which Tantric rituals are performed.

146. Referring here to a meditative state of communication with a deity. As a parallel to chang being the nectarous drink of meditation, ting-nge-'dzin (Skt. samādhi) is often described as the "food." Mgur-'bum, folios 48.b, 84.a, 112.b, 161.b, etc.

147. In certain Tantric rituals involving wrathful deities, the practice of gcod, "cutting" is performed, wherein demons are symbolically killed. Little has been written on this subject in Western literature, and Tibetans regard it as an extremely dangerous practice.

148. G.yung-drung is the Tibetan word for swastika, and is used by the Bon-po to refer to one branch of their teachings.

149. A ritual for summoning wealth and other benefits for this lifetime. See D. Snellgrove, trans., The Nine Ways of Bon (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 34-5.

150. Phaṭ is a mantra ised for exorcizing demons from a ritual area. Spyod-yul-pa is a variant of gcod-yul-pa (pronounced identically), a practitioner of Gcod.

151. Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha are Hīnayāna terms for different paths to enlightenment. They are rejected by the Mahāyāna because they involve the aspirant striving only for his own enlightenment. The basic vow of the Mahāyāna is that of the Bodhisattva, to strive for the liberation of all sentient beings.

152. The Gandharvas are fairy-like beings from Hindu mythology. They are traditionally represented as playing musical instruments and dancing in the sky.

153. The nine moods or rasas of Indian dramatic tradition.

154. Worship through dancing the nine moods is important in the

maṇḍala of Hevajra. Cf. Hevajra Tantra II.v.26.

155. Popcorn is a highly prized delicacy still favored in Bhutan, and buckwheat pancakes, though uncommon in most of Tibet, appear to be a staple in their diet also. Peissel, Lords and Lamas of Bhutan, pp. 149, 161.

156. These refer to the certainties of circumstance at rebirth. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che explained them as zhing "place," sku "body," 'khor "retinue," chos "teaching," and dus "time." For Rdo-rje-'chang, these are, respectively, 'Og-min, a perfect "enjoyment body," the Bodhisattvas of the ten stages, The Mahāyāna, and the eon during which Saṁsāra has not yet been emptied of sentient beings.

157. Rājagṛha in India.

158. I.e., a balding old man.

159. Unidentified.

160. Probably one of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's disciples.

161. Compare Mi-la-ras-pa's verse "Riding my horse, the wind of perception, I am carried by him wherever I wish; I have never ridden a (mortal) blood-born horse." (rta pho rnam shes rlung zhon des // gang 'dod gnas su skyel ba la // khrag chags rta la zhon ma myong //), Mgur-'bum folio 99.a. Again, he sings of Ras-chung-pa's leaving for India, "On an excellent horse has he ridden away. Other's horses are subject to stumbling, but Ras-chung's horse stumbles not. On his horse, the wind of perception, Ras-chung-pa, my son, has ridden away." (kho rta bzang po cig la zhon nas thal // gzhan gyi rta la gam 'khrugs yod // ras chung rta la gam 'khrugs med // rnam shes rlung gi rta pho la // bu ras chung pa kho zhon nas thal //), Mgur-'bum, folio 304.b.

162. This is undoubtedly the sense of mje in this passage.

163. Byed-pa "to do" used euphemistically for sbyor-ba "to copulate"

just as in English.

164. "Parents" used here in the same sense as "old mothers". See pt. III, footnote 45.

165. Compare this with Mi-la-ras-pa's use of the phrase snabs-zhal gyi bu-tsha, Mgur-'bum, folios 99.a, 284.b.

166. Said to be a symbol of great poverty.

167. "Clear light," a meditative state of consciousness. Bying-ba and rgod-pa are the two standard impediments to meditative success.

168. Once a Tantric practitioner has achieved identity with his deity, pledges or commitments become meaningless. See above, p.183, footnote 42.

169. A loose translation. Skyur-'gong typically refers to drunken argumentation. In some dialects it is a term for chang itself.

170. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che explains that there is a tradition which holds that if a girl or woman offers flowers to the three jewels of Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha, she will be beautiful in her next rebirth. Conversely, if she does not do so, she will be ugly no matter how showy her clothes or how much makeup she uses on her face.

171. Tibetan women use butter as a facial cream. Perhaps some localities have a tradition about girls tasting butter or liking butter to ensure beauty in adulthood. None of my informants were certain about this line.

172. That is, they spend their periods of meditative retreat in household tasks in order to earn money. So also in the following lines.

173. A chab-ril is a small bottle containing blessed or holy water, carried by monks in a fancy case.

174. To prove their firm commitment to their vows which forbid alcohol.

175. Skyabs-'gro, literally "going for refuge," as opposed to running for food.

176. A loose translation of this very compact sentence. Ldab-ldob and other rough individuals in monasteries are said to wear their robes in this unorthodox manner, for ease in fighting one another.

177. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs tells himself to be quiet here, for fear of being even more blasphemous.

178. Translation uncertain.

179. My informants say that, when pleading with someone, trying to get a favor, etc., Tibetans hold up one or both fists with the thumb sticking straight up and gesture toward themselves. The implication here is that the doctor is propositioning the girl. Beggars also use the gesture. See Charles Bell, The People of Tibet, p. 136, and picture facing p. 134.

180. Religious artisans are said to be emanations of the deities they represent in stone and paint(R).

181. When religious paintings are drawn, they are first outlined with red and black pigment.

182. Said to be a traditional way of fixing the price for a religious painting. The more deities represented, the more expensive the finished product.

183. Bse-rangs is said to be the part of the shoe or boot which actually covers the foot.

184. Translation uncertain.

185. That is, she should be so involved in her work that she remains unperturbed by men trying to bother her, working so fast that the lice on her bottom get crushed.

186. Sgrom-bu is probably here the name of some special piece of equipment used in weaving.

187. Taking khro-ba as equivalent to khrol-mo, at Sde-gzhung rin-po-che's suggestion.

188. *Rna-rkang* as earring wire was suggested by Sde-gzhung rin-po-che.

189. *Gla-ba* is a hardwood tree with thorny branches.

190. Translation uncertain.

191. In many parts of Tibet fire-wood is scarce. Some traders make a living selling bundles of thin sticks or switches. In a society which relies on bartering of goods and services rather than currency, an ironsmith might do a good deal of work in exchange for such items.

192. A play on the words *dkar*, *skyed*, and *'bras*, which also have religious connotations. The irony is that the products which they do produce that are white (*dkar*) are not necessarily virtuous. Mon is famous for its paper.

193. People from Dwags-po are often looked down upon by other Tibetans as ugly and stupid and the speakers of an incomprehensible dialect.

194. Tibetans call any large, sweet peach a *rgya-kham*, but perhaps "Chinese peach" is meant. "Monkey" peach is Tibetan vernacular for what we would call wild peaches. These are from untended peach trees growing in the hills. Monkeys eat them and they are typically very sour.

195. So called because they are large but virtually hollow.

196. *Cen* (other forms *cen-ne*, *ja-ne*) are the small, broad-mouth cups which some monks and wealthy people use for tea or food. They often have silver stems and repoussé interiors. The best varieties are made of *Rdzab* wood, the next best of *Gla-ba*. Fine specimens bring enormous prices, for the unusually beautiful grain of the wood only comes from certain parts of the tree. The wood itself is far costlier than the silver used to ornament it.

197. Unlike Chinese tea, which comes in square bricks, the much inferior tea grown in Kong-po is pressed into a shape resembling a top, about four

inches in diameter and weighing about 1½ pounds. The sample I tasted had a very woody and bitter flavor.

198. See above, p. , footnote 103.

199. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che says that a fornication fine (*byi-rin*) is a fine levied against a woman who bears an illegitimate child. Custom determined that she should pay a suit of clothing. If she was poor, however, as 'Brug-pa Kun-legs implies the women of Kong-po are, she would pay only a few bowls of barley meal.

200. Translation uncertain.

201. *Rgya-'dre nor-rdzongs* is a type of exorcism where a demon is bribed into accepting a box of gold, silver, silk, etc., which is then thrown into a river or left in a deserted area (R).

202. In the phrase *drung mchod-gnas-pa*, *drung* is the ordinary honorific for high religious persons, as in *drung-'khor* "monk official." *Mchod-gnas-pa* refers to the *bla-ma* in a patron-*bla-ma* relationship. The following verses all deal with the *bla-ma*'s behavior with respect to his patrons.

203. The term *chos 'gom* is said to usually mean the stepping on, or otherwise mistreating of, religious books. Monks scrupulously avoid this.

204. That is, the patron and his wife. A play on words here, for *yab* and *yum* also mean a Tantric deity and his consort in meditative union (*sbyor-ba*).

205. From the context we would infer that *a-khu btsun-pa* refers to the lay uncle of a celibate abbot, who would be in charge of the administrative and economic affairs of a monastery.

206. Interpreting *lcogs-po* as *lcog*, as suggested by my informants.

207. A *snye-phung*, literally "heap of ears of grain," is a pile of ears of grain with all the stalk removed, later to be winnowed with flails.

In the following line, *'ongs-phung* means a pile of ears of grain with the stalks intact, to be winnowed by driving cattle or other livestock back and forth over it. This is said to be the preferred method, but requires a sufficient supply of livestock. After the grain has been removed from the *'ongs-phung*, the remaining chaff is called *sbum-phug*.

208. Translation uncertain.

209. That is, of a Tantric yogi.

210. Gestures characteristic of magicians. For a description of the four *lta-stangs* and the tests for their perfection, see Ngag-dbang blo-bzang, *Gsang sngags rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod las byung ba'i ming gi rnam grangs*, ed. Ven. Dalama, *Tibetan Buddhist Studies of Klong-rdol bla-ma Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang*, vol. 1 (Mussoorie, 1963), p. 70. *Hevajra Tantra*, I.xi.1-7.

211. The *bzang-po drug* are spices and medicines: *ću-gang* "?bamboo-manna (Das)," *gur-gum* "saffron," *sug-smel* "cardamom," *li-shi* "cloves," *dza-ti* "nutmeg," and *ko-la* or *ka-ko-la*, Skt. *kakkola*.

212. *Li-ting* were identified by my informants as cups (*ting-phor*) made of *li* or bell metal.

213. Translation uncertain.

214. *Kha-che* here stands for *kha-che gur-gum*, Kashmiri saffron, regarded by Tibetans as the best variety, superior to that brought from Nepal.

215. Sde-gzhung rin-po-che glossed *Kham gshis pos tol* as *sems la dran tshad lam sang kha nas brjod pa*.

216. *Do-lo* is said to be a stone used in jewelry, similar in color to but different from turquoise, and inferior to it. All the items traded by the people from Gtsang in this paragraph are of inferior quality (*phal rtags*).

217. Exclamatory words in Lho-kha dialect.

218. This line is obscure. *Ko-thod* perhaps refers to their being bald.

219. The first four letters of the Tibetan syllabary.

220. Gze-ma is short for gze-ma ra-mgo. The letters tsa, tsha, dza and wa all have prong-like elements in them.

221. Dug-chal in this line and thag-chal in the next are unidentified.

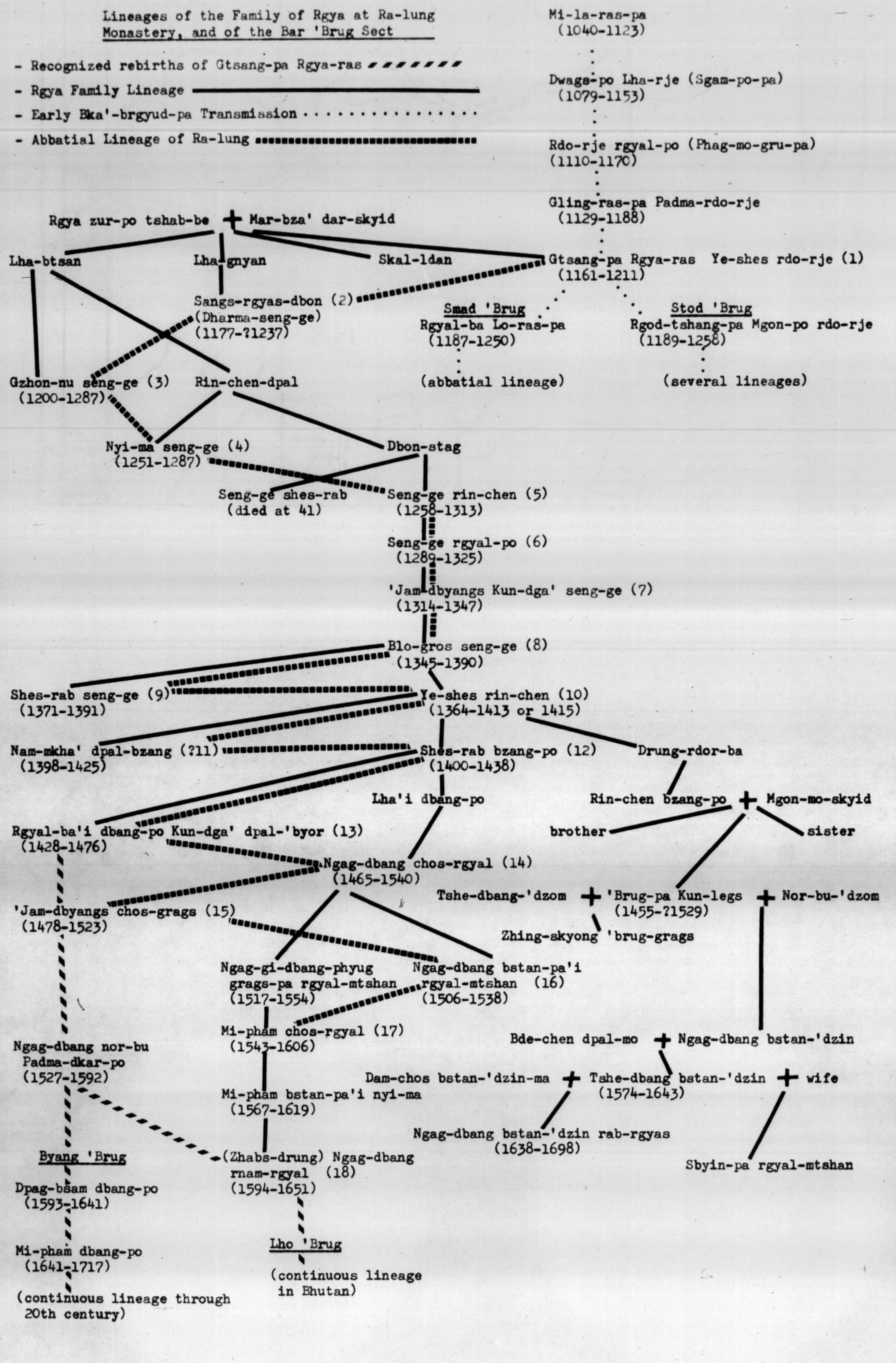
222. I have emmended blud-gzugs to glud-gzugs. Glud are effigies made of dough and used as scapegoats or voodoo dolls to remove sins from people or communities. Other kinds of glud exist, but the implication here seems to be that the letters ha and a are but poor replicas of what they should look like.

223. A combination not permitted in normal Tibetan orthography. So also with pa and ha in the next line.

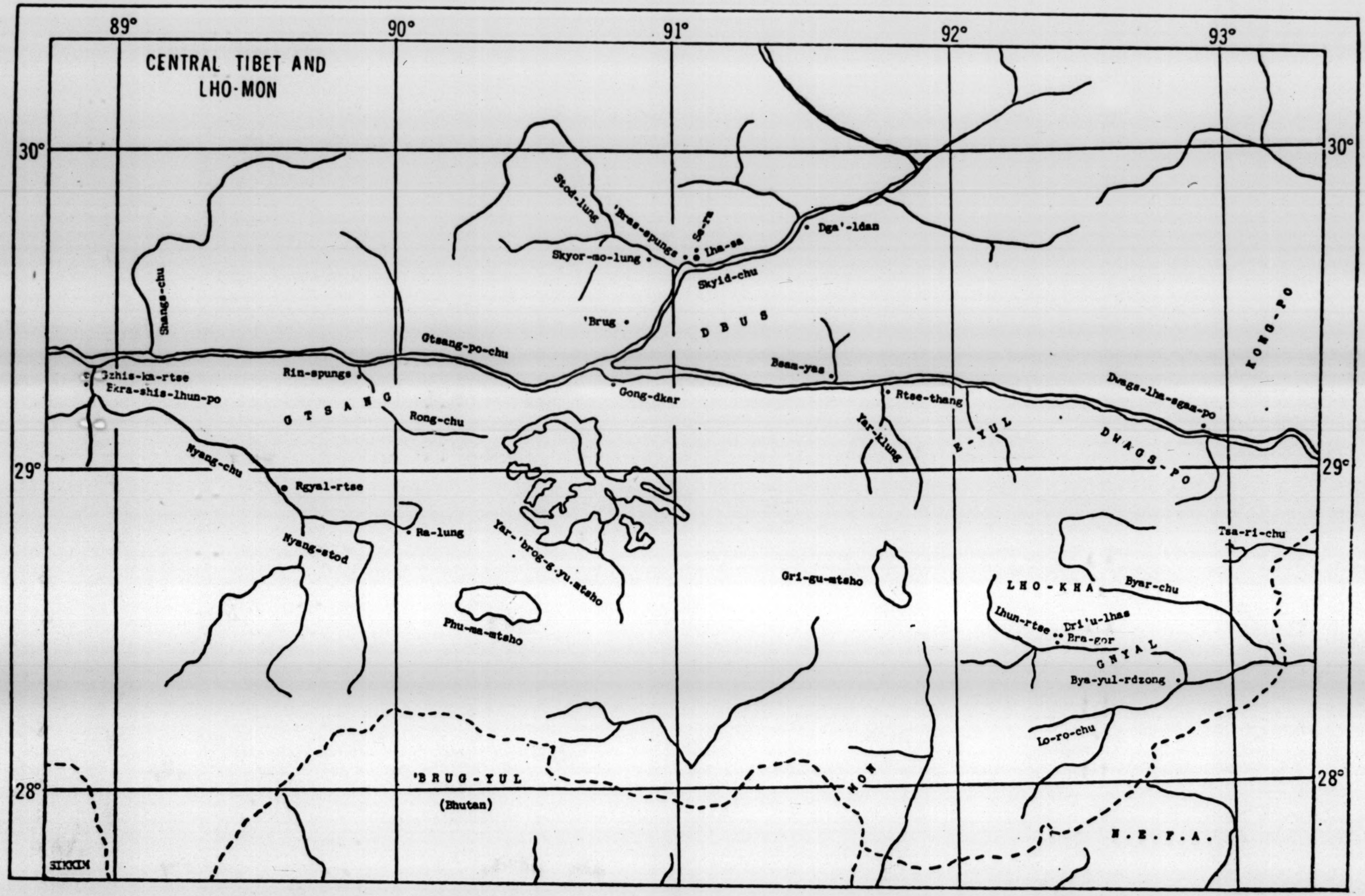
224. According to Nornang, getting dust in the mouth is an expression indicating that one's plans have gone awry. In this world, subject to perpetual delusion, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs suggests that the plans and activities of humans generally fail, whether through deceit or ignorance. This, in fact, has been the theme of the lengthy song which he has just completed.

225. Bound by Saṁsāra, misery cannot be avoided. But some benefit can be obtained even through repeating this song in fun. For those who understand its true meaning, it may even prove to be the impetus needed to turn them to a life of religion.

GENEALOGICAL CHART


Lineages of the Family of Rgya at Ra-lung Monastery, and of the Bar 'Brug Sect

- Recognized rebirths of Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras
- Rgya Family Lineage
- Early Bka'-brgyud-pa Transmission
- Abbatial Lineage of Ra-lung
Mi-la-ras-pa (1040-1123)
Dwags-po Lha-rje (Sgam-po-pa) (1079-1153)
Rdo-rje rgyal-po (Phag-mo-gru-pa) (1110-1170)
Gling-ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje (1129-1188)
Rgya zur-po tshab-be
Mar-bza' dar-skyid
Lha-btsan
Lha-gnyan
Skal-ldan
Gtsang-pa Rgya-ras Ye-shes rdo-rje (1) (1161-1211)
Sangs-rgyas-dbon (2) (Dharma-seng-ge) (1177-?1237)
Smad 'Brug
Rgyal-ba Lo-ras-pa (1187-1250)
Stod 'Brug
Rgod-tshang-pa Mgon-po rdo-rje (1189-1258)
(abbatial lineage)
(several lineages)
Gzhon-nu seng-ge (3) (1200-1287)
Rin-chen-dpal
Nyi-ma seng-ge (4) (1251-1287)
Dbon-stag
Seng-ge shes-rab (died at 41)
Seng-ge rin-chen (5) (1258-1313)
Seng-ge rgyal-po (6) (1289-1325)
'Jam-dbyangs Kun-dga' seng-ge (7) (1314-1347)
Blo-gros seng-ge (8) (1345-1390)
Shes-rab seng-ge (9) (1371-1391)
Ye-shes rin-chen (10) (1364-1413 or 1415)
Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang (?11) (1398-1425)
Shes-rab bzang-po (12) (1400-1438)
Drung-rdor-ba
Lha'i dbang-po
Rin-chen bzang-po
Mgon-mo-skyid
Rgyal-ba'i dbang-po Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (13) (1428-1476)
brother
sister
Ngag-dbang chos-rgyal (14) (1465-1540)
Tshe-dbang-'dzom
'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455-?1529)
Nor-bu-'dzom
'Jam-dbyangs chos-grags (15) (1478-1523)
Zhing-skyong 'brug-grags
Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1517-1554)
Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (16) (1506-1538)
Mi-pham chos-rgyal (17) (1543-1606)
Bde-chen dpal-mo
Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin
Ngag-dbang nor-bu Padma-dkar-po (1527-1592)
Dam-chos bstan-'dzin-ma
Tshe-dbang bstan-'dzin (1574-1643)
wife
Mi-pham bstan-pa'i nyi-ma (1567-1619)
Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin rab-rgyas (1638-1698)
Byang 'Brug
(Zhabs-drung) Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (18) (1594-1651)
Sbyin-pa rgyal-mtshan
Dpag-bsam dbang-po (1593-1641)
Lho 'Brug
Mi-pham dbang-po (1641-1717)
(continuous lineage in Bhutan)
(continuous lineage through 20th century)



89°
90°
91°
92°
93°
30°
29°
28°
Shangs-chu
Gtsang-po-chu
Gzhis-ka-rtse
Bkra-shis-lhun-po
Rin-spungs
G T S A N G
Rong-chu
Nyang-chu
Rgyal-rtse
Ra-lung
Nyang-stod
Yar-'brog-g.yu.mtsho
Phu-ma-mtsho
Stod-lung
'Bras-spungs
Se-ra
Lha-sa
Skyor-mo-lung
Skyid-chu
'Brug
D B U S
Dga'-ldan
Gong-dkar
Bsam-yas
Rtse-thang
Yar-klung
E-YUL
Gri-gu-mtsho
Dwags-lha-sgam-po
DWAGS-PO
KONG-PO
Tsa-ri-chu
LHO-KHA
Byar-chu
Lhun-rtse
Dri'u-lhas
Bra-gor
GNYAL
Bya-yul-rdzong
Lo-ro-chu
MON
'BRUG-YUL
(Bhutan)
N.E.F.A.
SIKKIM

CENTRAL TIBET AND LHO-MON

Part IV

Tibetan Text in Transcription

Orthographically speaking, the text of our four volume collection is in unusually good condition. We find few of the common copyist's mistakes, such as use of the wrong prefix letters, The most common error is the loss of a prefix before the second member of a compound, further evidence of the oral sources of the collection. For this reason, and because of the unusual number of new lexical items contained in it, I have been reluctant to emend difficult or obscure words, except in cases of obvious misspelling. The following transcribed text is given virtually as found in the xylograph. Bsdus-yig or contracted spellings have been given in full in brackets, as have spelling corrections. Having worked from a microfilm and not from the original xylograph, it is quite possible that some "errors" may turn out not to be errors at all, such as an apparent cam for tsam. In a very few instances short portions of text have become obliterated, but Sde-gzhung rin-po-che has suggested readings based on his recollection of the text as read many years ago in Khams. His suggestions have been indicated by R. My own corrections have been indicated by pref., indicating "preferred spelling."

* * *

[1.a] rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po kun dga' legs pa-i rnam thar gsung 'bum rgya mtsho las dad pa'i ku shas chu thigs tsam blangs pa ngo mtshar bdud rtsi'i zil mngar ces bya ba bzhugs so //

[1.b] / na mo gu ru / byams dang snying rje bzod pa'i phub chung khur // nyon mongs dug lnga 'joms phyir sha khyi 'khrid // stong nyid thabs shes zung 'brel mda' gzhu thogs // 'brug smyon kun dga' legs pa'i zhabs la 'dud / / rdo rje 'chang dngos grub thob sa ra ha pa'i rnam sprul // 'khrul snang

[1.b-2.b]

bden med du rtogs pas tshul 'chos dang bral zhing // spyod pa gang shar shugs 'byung 'gag med du lhug par spyod pa'i grub chen 'brug smyon kun dga' legs pa'i gsung bgros tshe 'di phyi'i so nam dang // chos dang 'jig-rten gnyis ka'i bya bzhag la phan pa rnams bri bar bya ste // de la yang grub thob rang gi gsung ltar na // nga'i rnam thar nges dag rang gi go rim // dang por skyes pa nas // da lta ci byed nam phugs 'chi ba dang ston mo btang ba yan chod ni bris zhan 'dra // gal te 'dri na 'ang slob ma chos la bskul ba'i tshig rigs skam po rnams dang // 'phral gyi chos spyod lag len nye bar mkho ba bzhin yin 'dug na ma gtogs // gzhan da nang lto ci bzas dang // do nub skyag pa 'di ru gtong rang gi lo rgyus skag sken bris pa la dgos pa chung [2.a] / nga rang rgyal khams bskor ba'i skad cha pra 'chal [pref. chal] mtshon tsam re gra pa thogs cig dang sbyin bdag rnams kyis yi ger bkod 'dug pa ni bkag ma thub pa yin kyang // deng sang snyigs ma'i dus 'dir mi rnams phyin kha log // 'jir rten gyi bya ba'i bkod pa dang dran rgya mtho ru song / dgos pa'i chos phyogs kyi bya ba la mi brtson zhing / dbang po rtul la dran pa gsal du song nas 'dug pas 'gro don byed pa 'ang so so'i blo dang bstun pa'i chos khrid mkhas pa ni dgos 'dug / gzhan ma lto phyir tsam la mkhas 'dod la brtsoms [brtsams] pa'i bstan bcos la sogs pa ni kham chung / nga'i 'di ni sna zin spu zin / har ma hor ma / lang ma long ma / btsog gtam la gzhi brdungs se ba cig las med pas / gnang bkag mi shes pa'i shes rab dum tsam yod pa / gsang sngags kyi chos la log par blta zhing / 'dul ba khyad du sod [pref. gsod] pa'i gang zag log lta can rnams kyis ma gzigs shig / yang chos ma dar ba'i sa phyogs mtha' 'khob kyi yul rnams su ma ston cig / de rnams la bstan na ni / chos nyid kyi go rgyu bzang po yod pa de mi go bar stu mje la sogs pa'i tshig rigs [2.b] la dad pa log yong bas / de bzhin du gyis shig / gzhan sangs rgyas ni legs nyes gang min byas kyang bka' mi

[2.b-3.a]

skyon / sems can mi rig pas labs pa ni oṁ āḥ hūṁ / ngas dgon chung cig la phyin pas / sngags btsun cig gi gral ston la ba cig bsad glo ba chung chung re dang snying gi sne mo re yang 'dren / gzhan ma sha che ba re yang 'dren kyin 'dug pa la / sngags pa 'ga' re mkha' 'gro ma'i snying khrid zhus pa'i dam tshig tu / dud 'gro'i snying mi za ba yin zer / logs su bzhag nas mi za bar 'dug pas / ngas de'i dgongs pa sems can mi bslu ba la dgongs pa yin mod / 'o na blo sbyong bsgom pa tsho glo ba mi za''am / sgyu ma bsgom pa tsho rgyu ma mi za 'am / thabs lam smad kyi chos zhus pa tsho smad sha mi za 'am / ma go ba'i bya ba gti thug 'di 'dra yod pa byas pas / phan pa byung / yang lha sa 'ongs stod zhing khar / grub mtha' mi gcig pa'i chos pa'i khungs 'ga' re tshogs nas / nga la chos rje kun legs pa khyed dpon slob kyi cha lugs 'di 'dra su'i lugs yin zer ba la / dge bshes nam kha'i [mkha'i] snying po na re / chos dang mthun na cha lugs gang byas kyang chog ang gsung / de la ngas 'di skad byas / bcom ldan 'das kyi bstan pa la rab tu byung ba cig yin na khong gi cha lugs de kha legs pa yin / dper bgyis [bgyi] na dpon po cig gi phyag phyi zhus na kho rang gang byed de byed dgos kyi 'dug pa / da lta bcom ldan 'das ni ma bzhugs / bla ma re la chos lugs re chos [3.a] lugs re la cha lugs re 'dug pas / chos rje lha btsun pa dpon slob kyis / bem po gong med re bzhes / dbu la sgom zhu re bzhes pa 'di yang dam po'i [pe'i] kha la btsag byugs pa 'dra ba tshad las ya mtshan pa cig 'dug / rje gtsang smyon pa dpon slob kyis / ang rag ring por bzhes / rkang dung drag po mi gtong / sbu sbu zer ba 'di yang jo bzang mdog kha po khyad du 'phags pa 'dra 'dug / yang rje dbus smyon pa dpon slob kyis / ang rag thung thung bzhes / ral pa zur yon mdzad / rkang dung hod hod tshag tshag / tsag tsag zer 'bud pa 'di yang tshad las skyen mdog rnam pa sems 'chor ba cig 'dug / yang khong rnying ma dpon slob kyis na bza' stod ring mdzad gos thung gi khar sham thabs sul bco brgyad tsam dkris / sma ra dang bya ru kha dang rgya sogs kyi rtse mo la chang dang rtsam pa'i ràl pa khrol le byas pa / oyn [o rgyan] paṇ zhu'i rtse la me long sgo tsam rgyab pa gsol nas byung tsa na de kha rang sbom la brjid pa bag dro ba yin yin 'dra 'dug / yang dkar po ba rnams kyis dbu skra la spa lo yags po rgyab / spyi gtsug tu thor cog 'dzum mul le ba rgyab / sham thabs dkar po sul brgya tsam yod pa dkris / de'i logs la smyug krog [khrog] dang snag bum shubs dang the'u shubs sogs phra le phru le btags / brang la me long zhib ma tsam rgyab nas / lham sna zhur ma sil sil sprug sprug byas / sho thab sho thab zer thegs pa 'di yang dmigs rnam dod la bla gab [3.b] che mdog kha ba 'dug / yang yar klungs ha lung gi chos mdzad ma tsho ni / gos thung skyang nag ha mo che sul khrig khrig zhe gcig mdzad / gos 'gag khra kha ma la / stod ma lugs kyi zur rdzes byas / ka chi sngon po'i thod byas pa'i rgyang snam gyi 'bar zhwa sge mo tsam leb zhwa byas / gri mgo khra ma rgyang nga re gzer spos shel rdog po re btags byas byung tsa na / nga de ka rang snying du sdug la sems 'chor ba yid tsha khol pa cig byung / gzhan ma nged kun legs dpon slob kyi cha lugs 'di yang 'di yin zer ngo yang mi dod / min zer ngo yang mi dod pa'i dga' mo cig yod pa swau [so so] gyis dang / ci byas chos su song na gyis dang / cha lugs mo chas sprad kyang mdzes po yong gyis dang / bsam ngan khong par bcug na cha lugs gser gyi ber yang stug chas rang yin gyis dang byas pas thams cad cang zer rgyu ma byung / ngas yang 'di byas / nga ni don med long gtam la 'byams long med / lha sa byà ba spyan ras gzigs kyi pho brang dngos yin / da lta nged rang rnams las kyis sgribs nas / mi'i grong dang gser sku 'dam pa'i sku la mngon pa yin / mi rnams kyang pho skyes dpa' bo dang mo skyes dpa' mo yin zer ba bden / nga ni bskor ba la 'gro / 'dir skyes pa dang sleb pa bskor ba mi bskor ba tsho'i bsam pa rlag pa tha le thu le / yang lha sa pa rnams kyang

[3.b-4.b]

dpa' bo dang dpa' mo yin dgongs nas gzims bzhugs na / deng sang a'o chos rgyal e nyan mi shes pas dgongs mdzod // // bla ma yi dam dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshal lo / de nas lha sa'i byang ngos [4.a] de na rgan mo bu khrid zhes pa cig la / bu dha ka dhi ka yin pa la dad pa re che / dpe cha blta ba la dga' mo byas pa cig 'dug pa de la / ma rgan mo des kha dal med 'thab cing / sprang phrug a lad ma rtse skam khyod kyis dpe gog des ci yong ba / nga dmyal bar song na yar 'dren ni mi nus / bu mo spyang mo rang cig dgos pa yod pas / bu'i dngos po 'dra ba bsko ma nyan cing / za thag ring ba stug chas rang chod zer nas sdang po rang byed kyi 'dug pas / ngas sngon la rgan mo la thabs mkhas rang byas byin rlabs rten dang skyod ma re byin / de nas mo yang dad par byung ste / chang nyang phrug gang dang ja 'debs cig khyer nas / khyams khra mthil du sleb byung ba dang / chos rje rin po che'i sras po 'di dag dga' ba la / gang bcol yang yong bar 'dug / nga'i bu rul 'di ni las mi byed par chos cig rang 'don gyi bsdad 'dug / rting ma'i yar 'dren ni mi yong zer bas / a ma nyon dang swau [so so] gyis byas nas gtam rgyud 'di bshad / sngon 'dre rgyal ba'i blo gros bya ba'i grub thob cig gis rdo rje 'jigs byed bsgrubs pas 'grub nas yod pa la / ma shi nas 'bod mi byung ma thag byon pas / ma khang rgyab tu thags 'thag 'phro la shi 'dug pas / ro'i mdun du bskyed rims [rim] bsgom zhing bzhugs pas / de dus ma bar dor 'khyams pa'i tshe / lhan skyes lhas dge ba brjod cing / 'dres sdig pa brjod pa las ma 'cham ste gshin rje zam kha ba'i drung du zhal lce gcod du phyin pa dang / khyed gnyis kyi 'di ngas mi shes kyi / zam pa pha [4.b] gi brgal ba na thod pa lcags kyi grong khyer bya ba cig yod do / de na gshin rje chos kyi rgyal po bya ba yod pas / der song cig zer / khong gsum kyis 'grogs te gshin chu dmar po 'bab pa'i zam kha la phar phyin pa dang / gshin rje'i drung du sleb pa dang zhal lce bcad pas / chos kyi rgyal po'i zhal nas me

[4.b-5.a]

long la ltos gsung / bltas pas rgan mo sdig pa shas che ba byung nas lhan cig skyes pa'i lha gar song cha med la song / rgan mo lcags kyi khang pa cig tu bcug nas / g.yas la yo [pref. g.yo] byas tsa na / lcags kyi khyi se bo zhig gis mche ba nyer byas / g.yon du gul ['gul] byas tsa na / zangs kyi khyi se bo cig gis mche ba nyer byed / de nas gshin rje'i grong khyer du cho nges dir dir byung nas / chos kyi rgyal pos su'i dmag byung zer / 'dre rgyal ba'i blo gros kyis gtsang ris kyi mgon po bdun cu rtsa lnga 'khrid nas byung zer / gshin rje rnams kyis rgan mo la blta mi nus pa tsam du gyur nas dred do / de nas yang khu sgra dang cho nges chen po byung bas / 'dre rgyal ba'i blo gros kyis snang srid kyi lha ma srin sde brgyad 'khrid nas byung zer / yang gshin rje rnams skrag nas rgan mo la blta mi phod cing 'gyel la khad pa'i sdug bsngal byung / yang cho nges dir gyis byung nas / su'i dmag byung byas pas / 'jam dpal ya man ta ka'i dmag byung zer / la la brgyal / la la bog / rgan mo lcags mkhar nas shor / de nas drod phabs nas rgan mo log byung zer ba yin / bu la yar 'dren re bas 'tshengs pa dgos tshad yod / bu nor nyan pa byung na la phog skyes dang 'dre [5.a] rgyal ba'i blo gros lta bus ma dmyal ba'i yul nas 'don pa de 'dra yod / nor mi nyan pa byung na tshe 'di chung ma'i stabs la btang nas / pha ma brdung zhing sems dkrug cing khos sdig pa 'ba' zhig byas pa'i phyed pha ma la smin nas dmyal bar 'gro / 'di phyi gnyis ka sdug pa de yin / gzhan rgan mo khyod kyi bu mo 'di chos 'jig rten gnyis ka la gang byas kyang legs legs yin par 'dug / nga rang yang zhing skyong 'brug grags 'di dngos kyi bu yin pas re go chen po yod de / rting ma'i yar 'dren mi dgos / kho rang mgo 'thon pas chog snyam pa yod / rgan mo long gtam so ma sod / ma ṇi grongs byas pas / rgan mo na re / ma ṇi grangs zhan 'dra ba 'dug / nga'i khyo pho de chos la dkar zhing / mtshan mtshan yal yal ma ṇi 'dren cing yod pa la / gcong gis zin nas yun ring la rim gro ci byas kyang ma

[4.b-5.a]

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[5.a-5.b]

phan par 'das song / thog cig gis chos min gyi bya ba ci min dgu brgyad byas na yang khams bde la tshe ring ba cig yong gin 'dug lags zer mchi ma 'don cing 'dug pas / ngas 'di skad byas / rgan mo pra 'chal mo khyod / khyo pho la lab ci dgos 'dug / rgan mo'i khyo pho rgad po yong ba de yin mod / mi rgas nas 'chi ba las thabs ci yod / chos la dkar ba dang dge ba la brtson pa bskor ba ma ṇi rems pa rnams tshe 'di la na ba dang tsha ba rnams mang ba dang / bya ba ma btub pa 'dra yod pa de / tshe sngon gyi las rting ma smin nas / dmyal ba sogs ngan song gi sdub bsngal myong rgyu de / chos la [5.b] dkar ba'i dge bas sgrib pa chung ngu song nas tshe 'di la smin te rting ma myong mi dgos pa'i rtags yin / chos pa yang thugs dam gang smar ba dang 'chi ba dran pa / 'gro don che ba / dge ba la dkar ba la bar chad sdang bar yong ba'i rgyu mtshan yang chos zab na bdud zab ces pa'i kha gtam bden / bdud sdig can rnams c hos byed pa la sdang sems kho na bcugs nas sdod de / dkon mchog la blo gtad pas phugs btsan nges shes pa de yin / sdig pa la dga' ba dang dbang spus ngan pa dang dge ba la mi brtson pa'i ci man dgu brgyad byed mkhan tsho / tshe 'di la khams bde zhing nor phyug pa 'dra ba cig yod do / tshe sngon gyi dge ba'i 'bras bus bsod nams lhag ma cung zad yod pa rnams tshe 'di la smin nas / mi dge ba'i las kyi 'bras bus rting ma lcags khang sgo med bya ba'i bzhugs yul ma spro ba cig la thegs dgos pa'i skad cha yin / gzhan ma ma ni bgrangs pas / mig cer long la song ba'i mig gis mthong ba dang / tshe 'di la dung so byon pa dang / bskor ba byas pas sgur po drang por song ba dang zha bos 'khar rgyug bzhag chog pa dang / phan yon chen po ngas mig gis kyang mthong / rna bas thos pa la mangs nas med / yang chos phyogs la dkar ba / sangs rgyas la mchod pa gshom pa dang / mar me 'bul ba dang / gsung rab bzheng ba dang / zhabs tog dang / klog pa dang / gzhan sgrog tu 'jug gam / dge 'dun grangs mi chod pa 'am gcig yar btab la zhabs tog byas pas / tshe stod dbul por yod pa rnams tshe smad skyid la dge ba byas [6.a] kyin longs spyod cher song ba rang mang byas pas / thugs bden zer / de nas 'phro de ka la phyogs de nas byon pa'i chos pa mang po jo mjal la 'dug pa 'dus nas chos rje kun legs pa / 'phral dbyangs rta yin pa la phugs lam gyi bgrod tshul tshang ba cig gsungs dang zer bas / ngas 'di skad btang ngo / a'o byang sems kyi rta pho la / gzhan phan gyi dkyus thog de rang gis bcad zin pa / 'gro drug lha yi skyo rogs byas nas a'o / da dung rnal 'byor 'khor bar sdod pa yin nyog khyad / gzhan don byed pa'i rnam thar yin pas skyong de sdod yod / snang ba bde mo cig nga yis bya'o / rang lus lha yi rgyal po la a'o / 'gyur med kyi btsan sa bzung zin pa ma dang mkha' 'gro'i snying sdug byas nas a'o / da dung snang srid lha skur sgom pa yin nyog khyad / snang la ma grub pa'i rnam thar yin pas skyong de sdod yod // snang ba bde mo cig nga yis bya'o // mtshan ldan gyi bla ma la a'o // phyogs bral gyi mos gus de rang byas zin pa // cir snang rtsa ba'i bla mar 'dug pa 'di a'o / da dung mos gus phyogs med byed pa yin nyog khyad // snod ldan bla ma'i rnam thar yin pas skyong de sdod yod // snang ba bde mo cig nga yis bya'o // mnyam par ni bzhag zin pa bzung [pref. gzung] 'dzin dang bral song a'o // 'khor 'das ro snyoms ltad mo mthong byung a'o // da dung phyogs bral lhun grub skyong ba yin nyog khyad // theg chen snying po'i bstan pa skyong de sdod yod // snang ba bde mo cig nga yis bya'o // rgyu tshogs gnyis ni bsags zin // smon lam rnam dag ni btab zin // sngo bya bsngo byed bral ba'i bsngo [6.b] ba byas nas a'o // da dung ma rgan 'gro drug 'dren pa yin nyog khyad // don la bya byed bral ba'i rnam thar yin pas skyong de sdod yod // a'o // snang ba bde mo cig nga yis bya'o // zhes 'then pas thugs la btags zer //

// yang lan cig lha sar nged dpon slob sbyin bdag gis gdan drangs / zhag gcig gnyis cig bsdad pa'i sar / gnas mo ma mad [smad] gnyis 'dug pa'i

[6.b-7.a]

a ma de bsnyen gnas byed pa'i nyin sgog pa dag a'u tsi zer za gi 'dug / bu mo de g.yag g.yog dang las mi rnams la / dgongs zhogs sngo tshod mang ba la bag tsha nyung ba byas / dro ba dro bzhes la zan rdog sran kha phye ba / rdog po chung bar brdzis nas / sing po nar po'i skom re dang rgya ri skyug gang bro re ster / mo rang khong tsho song nas / zan dron lkugs pa'i mgo tsam g.yos / mar khu thon khrog ma rdza ma gang byas / skyu 'jog mgo shong ba tsam rgyag gin 'dug / gzhan ma nged dpon slob tsho la gus po rang byas te / ser sna che la lag pa dam pa ham pa che ba cig 'dug / nang cig bal bal cig 'dug pa de 'o ma la shor nas mo bsgyel 'o ma bo song bas / har langs rdog rdo cig rgyab nas bsad do // yang zhog cig re'u cig 'dug pa des chang rgyu skams pa de za yi 'dug pas yos rngod 'phro'i go yog de sur nas mig bcar song / dus rtag tu mo phyug pa'i stabs kyis kha la 'jog che bas grong pa khyim mtshes thams cad yar rdeb mar rdeb gtong ba zhig 'dug / mchod gnas dge slong khyad 'phags cig 'dug pa de nang re bzhin du su rū pa dang chu sbyin gtor ma sogs ma chag par mdzad [7.a] kyi 'dug / der gnas po snying rje che la kha 'don smar ba sbyin pa la dga' ba cig 'dug ste / dbang chen po mi 'dug / nang cig gnas po na re / chos rje lags nged kyi gnas mo 'di blo rgyud dga' ru 'gro zhing chos la dkar du 'gro ba'i gsung chos zhig gnang bar zhu dang zer / mchod gnas kyis kyang su rū pa dang gtor ma btang ba'i phan yon zhig kyang gsungs dang zer / ngas khong rnams la gtam rgyud 'di bshad / sngon rgya gar na / dge slong je ta ri dgra las rnam rgyal zhes bya bas lung pa skam po cig la byon pas skad ngan lhang lhang phra tser ba de 'dra cig 'dug nas bltar phyin pas / yi dwags kyi rgyal mo kha la me 'bar ma bu smad lnga brgya tsam 'dug / mgo ri tsam la rke [pref. ske] rta rnga tsam / gsus pa rgya mtsho tsam / rkang lag 'jag ma tsam zhib 'dug / de la slob dpon snying rje skyes te / mo la 'di skad ces smras pa / khyod kyis

[7.a-7.b]

las ci byas pas lus 'di blangs / 'di ru ji tsam song zhing sdod / 'di nas tshe 'phos nas gar skyes / dris pas mo na re / nga sngon tshe bud med phyug mo zhig lags / de'i dus su phru gu dang 'khor g.yog las mi rnams la lto zol gang che / dron gang chung byas / bza' mi la yang zan chung chung re drangs / ma shi ma khyags tsam byas pa'i rnam smin gyis 'dir skyes pa yin lags / nga 'dir mi lo lnga brgya dang lnga stong sdod cing / tshe 'phos nas grang dmyal brgyad na mar 'gro / de'i rnam smin yang bud med phyug mor skyes dus / 'bri gnag dang lug mang po yod pa / spu dang bal mang po 'byi ma ran pa nas [7.b] bregs / bran g.yog rnams ma shi tsam gyi gos g.yogs / gos legs pa tsho phugs su sbas nas / mug ma dang ko las zos pas snying na nas rgyug pas brdungs te srog bcad pa lags / bu cha 'di tsho la pha 'dra ba cig yod pa la / de rdo rje gdan du zas 'dra tshol du song nas lo bcu gsum song rung da dung sleb ma byung / da phru gu tsho ltogs rir 'chi ba 'dug pas / slob dpon gyis 'phrin gsung bar zhu zer bas / slob dpon gyis ngas ngo mi shes ji lta bu zhig yod byas pas / mig zhar / mdog ngag / mchu shwa re yod pa / lba ba yod pa / sgur por song ba cig yod lags zer / de nas slob dpon gyis rdo rje gdan du byon nas / mnyam par bzhag nas gzigs pas / gtor ma btang ba'i gtor ril dang gtor chu mi nyung ba cig btsun chung cig gis blug song bas / yi dwags stong phrag mang po'i 'og nas mo'i khyo bo de mi thar ba 'dug / de nas thar nas sgo rgyab 'phyags snyigs kyi dkyil nas lud pa skam po zhig bzung nas nyal 'dug pa dang / dge bsnyen cig gis lud pa hag zer bor bas / har langs lag mthil bzed nas thob pa dang / yi dwags nyi shu rtsa gcig gis kho ded pas / zin nas bsgyel te brdungs so / lud pa de yang skam por 'dug / de nas kho rtsig pa'i skyog na rdul khal le 'dug pa dang / slob dpon gyis kho re longs dang khyod 'di ltar yong ba cis lan da gang du 'gro / bu smad tsho shi la khad 'dug / tshur shog smras pas / kho na re / slob dpon lags / nga tshe bud med phyug mo lags dus / bsnyen gnas kyi sdom pa nyin re bsrungs [8.a] pas pho lus 'di thob lags / yang bsnyen gnas kyi nyin par sha chang sgog btsong zos shing / gdong la snum byugs pas mdog sdug pa dang dri mi zhim pa 'di byung lags / mig zhar pa 'di lug cig yos zar byung bas yog pa rgyab pas mig chu rtsar gyis song bas de'i rnam par smin pa yin lags / mchu shwa re yong ba 'di bdag che [tshe] sngon phyug mor song bas / thams cad kha la nyan pas phra ma bcug pa'i rnam smin lags / lba ba ske 'khor yong ba 'di 'khor g.yog rnams la lto ma 'grangs par sbyin pa / rang gis lkog tu zan chen po zos pa'i rnam smin yin / sgur bor yong ba 'di bdag khang thog na yod pas ming po cig yod pa bdag 'phrad du byung ba la khyis rmugs pas / thog nas g.yam pa cig rgyab pas phyi'i [khyi'i] sked [pref. rked] pa chag pa de'i rnam smin yin / tshe ni mi lo lnga brgya dang lnga stong sdod pa yin cing / de nas tshe 'phos nas tsha dmyal du skyes nas sdod dgos rgyu yin pas / de la phan pa'i thabs 'dra mi 'dug gam slob dpon lags zer bas / slob dpon gyis khong rang gi lus sbyin nam snyam / de yang khyab chung bar 'dug dgongs nas su rū pa yi gtor ma mdzad pas / kho dang bu smad thams cad tshim / der ma zad pa'i yi dwags thams cad ngoms shing tshim pa dang / yi dwags na re / slob dpon bzhugs ring dang skyid par 'ong ste / grongs nas nged tsho'i skal ba chad 'gro zer bas / slob dpon gyis phyi rabs kyi gdul bya rjes 'jug rnams la bslabs nas khyed rnams skyid du 'jug pa yin gsungs / [8.b] yang yi dwags rnams na re / rtsam pa med na 'ang chu sbyin gtor ma zhu zhus pas / jambha la'i chu sbyin yang mdzad skad do // ces mdo las gsungs 'dug pa / ngas a ro ye shes 'byung gnas kyi gsung 'bum bltas pas mthong byung ba yin / de bas na gnas mo rang yang tshe sngon bsod nams bsags pas yul dbus su skyes / de'i nang nas kyang lha sa jo bo rin po che'i drung du skyes / mi 'dzom nor 'dzom 'di byung ba yin / da dung yang sbyin pa thong / 'khor g.yog rnams la byams

[8.b-9.a]

par mdzod / lto skom kyang dga' mo sbyin mdzod / de ltar ma byas na sngar bshad pa ltar ser sna ches pa / sems can la rgyag rdzog byas pa phung dkrugs pa rnams la rnam smin de 'dra 'dug / gzhan ma gnas mo rang yang spyang grung 'dzom la mdzes pa / tshong mkhas pa / mi kha byams pa / snying sdug pa yon tan sna dgu tshang ba cig 'dug byas ngo bstod che bar btang bas / blo 'gyur [gyur] te rting ma yong dus drag tu gang yang song 'dug / mchod gnas de yang gtor ma su rū pa sngar nas brtson pa'i khar / byung khungs phan yon nges de bas kyang brtson du song 'dug / swau [so so] gyis dang / sdig pa rang gis byas na ni / shā kya thub pas kyang skyab mi nus / spyan ras gzigs dbang rang yang bzhugs bzhugs / sdig pa rang gis ma byas na ni / gshin rje chos rgyal la yang zhed po mi 'dug / ra ksha glang mgo rang yang bzhugs bzhugs / sdig pa la 'dzem zhing dge ba bsgrubs mdzod byas // // bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo // 'brug smyon kun dga' legs pa ngas // 'khrul snang sgyu ma'i rtsed [9.a] mo la / ma phyin dgu phyin khrom pa tsho // dad ldan rnams tsho gsan par zhu / / log lta can rnams phyir dengs shig // yang lan cig chos 'khor lha sar phyin / de nas nang cig gnas mo na re / chos rje kun legs pa // khyed kyis chang 'tshod bsnyol a shes zer / ngas 'di byas / gnas mo mthong ma chung / chos khag po 'di shes nas / chang 'tshod bsnyol las sla ba mi yong byas pas / 'o na ga 'dras byed pa zer ba la / ngas 'di skad byas / snga sor thab dang khog ma 'grig pa byas / chu dang me shing do nub bsags / sang zhogs bya brang mi brdung / bong bu mje ma 'grangs pa nas langs / nas rdo dang sran ma med pa'i skam po de chu las mtho phyed kyis dma' ba byas nas me gtong / de nas chu dang bstun pa'i me chung du chung du btang ste / skya ba legs po zhig gis steng 'og brje zhing dkrugs / chu chod ma chod blta / chu sngo khrol le 'dug na da dung me a lad ma gtong / chu skya 'bab be ba 'dug na / thal ba dron mo'i khar phab nas / zhi bas grangs su bcug /

[9.a-10.a]

de nas brdal phyar khar 'khyog la / grang dro dbyar dgun dang bstun pa byed / dgun drod ma yal tsam dang / dbyar drod med pa'i rlangs ma yal ba de la chang rtsi chung ngu btab / lug gi sog pa cig gis 'dres par brdal / bsnyol khog kha che ba cig phye dud dang 'khan pa'i dud pas bdugs pas chang gi rlung non nas langs pa 'gyogs [mgyogs] po yong / bsnyol khog kha chung na dbugs sdib nas skyur mor 'gro / chang bsnyol dus ltogs can skom dad can gyis ma mthong bar bya / [9.b] rang khro bo bdud rtsi 'khyil bar bsgom / sngags 'di 'don / om bsod nams dang dbang thang la rag las / 'phral ca ga la ni skyon med 'phugs [pref. phugs] zhim mi zhim mgron po'i kha bsod gtso swā hā / zhes bsnyol / de nas ya ma thal ba b as / slong ba'i dus su lag pa gtsang mar bkrus / rdza ma cig tu blug nas snying chu nyung nyung cig rgyab / snga dro cig kha g.yel sangs pa dang / 'dag cha kha srubs med pa rgyab / zhag gsum song ba dang chang la chu bsnan / ja me cha ram ram pa sbar / bzhugs stan 'jags ma cig rgyab / der yon bdag ral pa can tsho bag dron po cig bzhag / gsol ja dang po'i rjes la / gsol sings de btsags nas phud gtor dus / gsol lo mchod do / bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gro chos skyong bsrung ma'i tshogs rnams la 'bul lo / byin rlabs dngos grub gnyan po stsol cig / yul 'di'i gzhi bdag gnas bdag bran g.yog 'khor dang bcas pa rnams la gsol lo mchod do // khyad par ma cig dpal gyi lha mo // dus gsum gyi bsrung ma / sred gsum gyi dbang mo / gnas gsum gyi mkha' 'gro'i gtso mo // dpal mo che / 'dod khams dbang phyug ma / dbyangs can ma'i sprul pa mo // chos rgyal srong btsan sgam pos bsten cing bskos pa'i bsrung ma chen mo'i zhal du gsol lo mchod do // nyin gsum gyi bya ra mtshan gsum gyi mel tshe mdzod / legs dang sprod nyes dang bsnol / mi pho mgo gang gis bstod / rta pho dkyus gang gis bsrings la / phar 'gro'i skyel ma chur [tshur] yong gi bsu ma / tshong la 'gro ba'i tshong dpon / dmag la 'gro ba'i dmag dpon / byag [pref. jag] la 'gro ba'i [10.a] byag [pref. jag] dpon mdzod / rgan pa'i tshe bsrungs / gzhon pa'i dpal bskyed cig / rogs dan mgon skyabs gnyan po mdzod cig / zer ba byas / phud gsum gtor nas lags mchod dang zer ba byas / se 'dor te / sngo khrol le 'dren pa yin mod / de nas yon bdag kyang mdzod la ja khug sge mo tsam gzhogs g.yon nas bton / ja dan ser po spo re gang tsam btab / nyag do tsam bzhag nag po spo re gang tsam chang rin la bzhag byas byung tsa na / sbro [sgro] rgan ma 'ja' ris khyug khyug yong ba de yin byas pas / thugs la bden zer dga' bsdad 'dug / yang nang cig gnas mo yab phud btsan la 'gro rgyu yin zer / nas bre bzhi bzhag // khyed dpon slob kyis 'di 'tshod bsnyol mdzod cig zer / khyag chad [chas] khur nas song ngo / zhag gsum na 'khor byung nas / chang langs e byung zer bas / langs na 'ang langs ma langs na 'ang ma langs / zhib ma'i nang na yod byas pas / khyed dpon slob kyi thabs brdugs pa / mkhyen rab ni 'dug mi 'tshod pa zer ba la / ngas 'di byas / gnas mo bya ba thams cad shes dgos / mi byed dgos zer ba yin / shes tshad rang lag tu blangs pas ci yong / shes pa ra gsod pa yang shes byas nas / mgur 'di 'then no // ang gi gnas mo rang don can // ma yengs dbyangs kyi tshig la nyon // nga rang lus rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor du // thabs shes gnyis kyi sgyed bu btsugs // bde stong gi khog ma yangs pa ru // zung 'jug ting 'dzin 'bral med chu // sku gsum 'bras bu'i nas cig blug // don gnyis grub pa'i chang cig tshod [10.b] tshod nas / gnas mo'i chang tshod brjed de thal // nga byang sems kyi khang pa yangs pa ru / gzhan don gyi stan dkar gsum brtsegs bting // 'gro drug gi yon bdag 'bod 'bod nas / yog pa rta 'gugs kyi mgron 'bod brjed de thal // nga mtha' gnyis bral ba'i thab kha la // ye shes tsha ba'i me sbar te // stong nyid kyi ja bzang skol skol nas // rgya ja'i g.yo sta brjed de thal // ngas shes tshad thams cad byed dgos na // shes pa ni gnas mo rang la zhon pa yang shes byas 'grims phyin // / 'gro mgon gtsang pa rgya ras la / gsol ba snying gi

[10.b-11.a]

dkyil nas 'debs / 'bras spungs tshes gcig kong glu dang // skyor mo lung gi nyams mgur dang // bya bral mtshan nyid brtsod bzlog dang // dge bshes nyams dga'i bro bzhas [pref. gzhas] dang // pho grogs gnyis kyi gtam rgyud dang / gzhan yang thor bu'i lo rgyus yod // 'brug smyon nga rang nyams re dga' // yang 'bras spungs dga' ldan pho brang du / rgyal ba chos rje dge 'dun rgya mtsho mjal du phyin pas / thugs dgyes dgyes yags par gnang / tshes gcig gtor ma mdzad pa dang thug byung ba / skyid mi skyid 'dra kham rang che nas ma byung / drung gnas dka' bcu pa khyad 'phags bgres se ba cig sku gzhogs na 'dug pa'i gsung nas / grub thob kun dga' legs pa / de ring gi tshes gcig gi bzhugs gral 'di la bla ma spyan ras gzigs kyi drung du yar / nyams dbyangs thugs la shar ba'i chos 'jig rten gnyis ka la phan pa'i snyan ngag lhang lhang ba cig mdzod dang gsungs byung bas / ngas 'di skad byas / cis kyang 'bul [11.a] / dgos / spyir sangs rgyas la dbyangs mchod par 'bul dgos / khyad par ngag dbang lha mo dbyangs la dgyes / de ring 'dod khams dbyang phyug ma'i dus gtor yin pas rol mo'i tshul du 'bul lo byas / 'di btang ngo / / tsho mo de bsam grub lo mo de gru bzhi / mgur gyi rta pho la 'di 'dras 'dug go / ngas ni smras byung gyis dang / dpe dang don la bsam na sangs rgyas kyi gsung rab 'dug ste // blun po bab col smra mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud / dam chos 'dul ba'i bstan pa 'dzin pa la // rje blo bzang grags pa dpon slob 'dra dgos pa 'dug ste // nged nag chang gtso bor byed mkhan 'di tshos sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa mi 'dzin pa 'dra snang // bdag gzhan don gnyis sgrub mkhan tsho sdom gsum gnad du dril mdzod // bslab pa ngos blangs 'dul khrims lkog tu skyel mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // dbang bzhi sems la bskur ba la (//) bla ma rdo rje 'chang dang mnyam pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // yid smon cho ga la re mkhan 'di tshos gsang sngags bon du gyer ba 'dug go / rgyud sde'i gnad tshad rtogs pa la skyed [pref. bskyed]

[11.a-12.a]

rdzogs zung 'brel du sgoms zhig / dbang khrid nor phyir tshong mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // 'gro ba gzhan don byed pa la jo bo yab sras 'dra ba dgos par 'dug ste // rang don rkyang pa byed mkhan 'di tshos byang chub sems nyid nyam su [nyams su] 'jug pa 'dra snang // don gnyis mthar phyin cig 'dod na dmigs med kyi snying rje dang bdag las gzhan gces sgoms shig / theg dman gol sar shor ba tsho 'grul po [11.b] lam la bzhud bzhud / pho lha dbyings nas dgyes pa 'di la bon tshig dang dmigs pa bstun pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // dpe gog gal ter bcug pa'i skad snyan tshig don 'dzol ba 'di tshos yon bdag bslu ba 'dra // bon phywa g.yang yin pa cig byed na bshen [gshen] rab mi bo dang bstun cig / gtor zan gtor lhag dgug mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // 'jig rten mi chos byed pa la ngo tsha dang khrel yod pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // mig nye dang khe 'tshol la re ba 'di kun gyis rang nyid bslu ba 'dra // 'jig rten tshad ma cig byed na drang po dgra la 'ang lobs cig gyis dang // blo gtad snying brku byed mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // tshe gcig sangs rgyas sgrub pa la bla ma mtshan nyid dang ldan pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // gang zag log lta can dang 'phrad pa 'di tshos lam log pa la 'khrid pa 'dra snang // chos bshad bla ma cig byed na yon tan kun rdzogs cig gyis dang // zog po 'dres khyer ba tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // sgom chen ri khrod 'grim pa la 'chi ba snying nas dran pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // ri kha ru chang 'thung rgyag mkhan 'di tshos byin rlabs yal du 'jug pa 'dra snang // snying nas lha chos bsam mkhan tsho zhi lhag zung du sbrel cig / lto gos ri kha nas 'tshol mkhan tsho 'grul pl lam la bzhud bzhud // bya btang rgyal khams bskor ba la phyi nang gi rkyen thub pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // rdzun chen sprang snyogs khyer ba 'di tshos khyi sgra slong ba 'dra snang // don la gnas chen bskor na skyid sdug ro snyoms cig mdzod dang // [12.a] nyo chang dang ham pa bsre mkhan tsho

[12.a-12.b]

'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // sgra tshad lung rig la mkhas pa 'di la go ba dang brtson 'grus yod pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // grwa sa btsun chung rkyang pas 'dzin pa 'di kun gyis gsung rab mi shes pa 'dra snang // snying nas dam chos byed mkhan tsho gzhung la snying rus bskyed dang // tsher ma dar gtums [pref. btums] dkor min pa mi dran pa tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // snang srid dkyil 'khor du 'char ba la bskyed rdzogs zung 'jug sgom pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // lag len za chog rkyang ba la re ba 'di kun gyis dam tshig khyad du gsod pa 'dra snang // sngags pa yang dag cig byed na stong nyid snying rje dang sbrel cig // mi gsod gshin rje lag dmar mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // pha ma'i drin lan 'jal ba la gces phrug las bsod can cig dgos pa 'dug ste // lang shor blo nyes 'di tshos rgan 'khogs yi thag gcod pa 'dra snang // la yogs med pa cig byed na pha ma spyi gtsug tu khur cig // rgas khar rang mgo su thon byas nas pha ma rgyug pas brdung mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // nad pa'i nad ngo shes pa la 'tsho byed rgyud gzhung man ngag dang bstun pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // 'ol tshod tha snyad sngo sman khyer ba 'di tshos nad pa bslu ba 'dra snang // lha rje yin nges cig mdzad na gzhung dang lag len bstun cig / rgyong rkyal khyab g.ya' mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // lo skor gcig gi legs nyed shes pa la bcu gsum [12.b] khog rtsis shes pa'i mo ma cig dgos pa 'dug ste // the'u rang rkang gcig bsten mkhan 'di tshos yon bdag bslu ba 'dra snang// mo ston tshad ldan cig byed na lha dang ju thig bstun cig / sdug 'dre dang skyag rdzun la re mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud (//) btsun ma chos thun cig byed na dge slong ma dpal mo 'dra cig dgos pa 'dug ste // da lta'i btsun ma bya bral la g.yab g.yugs byed mkhan 'di tshos dgon pa'i bla de tshong ba 'dra snang // sgrub pa mo rnam dag cig byed na stu la sba ra 'khob cig // gzhan tshong ma bu tsha gsod mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // mnga' 'bangs

[12.b-13.a]

bde la 'god pa la dpon po khrims lugs ma 'chol ba cig dgos pa 'dug ste // rang 'dod can g.yog ngan gyi kha lo bsgyur ba 'di tshos rgyal khrims nyams su 'jug pa 'dra snang // dpon bzang po cig byed na bden rdzun go ba ma log pa cig gyis dang // dpon phyogs ris can lkog rngan za ba tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // dpon pos thugs rjes 'dzin pa la g.yog btang 'gro bzhag sdod cig dgos pa 'dug ste // kha la mi nyan gyong krad kha phyir blta 'di tshos dpon po bslu ba 'dra snang // dpon g.yog gsha' ma cig byed na gong 'og ma nor ba cig gyis dang // go log mgo med rtsa med tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // bu smad skyid du 'jug pa la a pha bsod nams can cig dgos pa 'dug ste // ngan yus lag sag po 'di tshos bu smad sdug rir gsod pa 'dra snang // khyim mi skyid du 'jug na tshong dang so nam la rems shig / za dga' rgya 'dre mgo nyo chang skyur 'gong la dga' ba tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // [13.a] / bu khyo lha bzhin 'khur ba la bud med rigs bzang ma cig dgos pa 'dug ste // ci mi yong kha 'tshag ma lkog zas mkhan 'di tshos bu khyo'i yi thag gcod pa 'dra snang // mi smon rang skyid cig byed na spyang grung 'dzom pa cig gyis dang // khyo po las shar po dga' ba tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // mi pho'i srog mgo 'don pa la rta bzang bang 'gros 'dzom pa cig dgos pa 'dug ste // mdzo grod kha gyong can 'di tshos mi mang sar dma' 'bebs pa 'dra snang // rta bdag ca ga [pref. cag ga] can yod na rta yon tan kun 'dzom zhig nyos shig / bang med bug 'gyel byed mkhan tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud / rang nyal nor 'jog byed pa la khang bzang lcags ris bskor ba cig dgos pa 'dug ste / khang rul sbo lug thigs pa'i go dong 'di tshos rang srog skyel ba 'dra snang // khang bdag ca ga [pref. cag ga] can yod na khang pa'i zhig gsos la rems shig / gyang gog bong bu'i rna ba 'dra ba tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // gnyid log nor bsrung byed pa la khyi bzang po cig dgos pa 'dug ste // nang rkun 'jab khyi kha ma rtag 'di tshos dgos

[13.a-14.a]

mgron gyi rkang pa 'khyer ba 'dra snang // mi nyams can cig yod na khyi bzang btags bzhin mthu ba cig 'tshol dang // 'dre khyi ngu skad 'don pa tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // ci btab skye ba'i gshod [pref. shod] zhing de dga' mo rang 'dug ste // ma btab ram pa'i a ma 'di tshos ston ka bslu ba 'dra snang / / zhing bdag nyams can cig yod na chu lud drod gsher gang yang 'phrod pa cig nyos shig / bye sag ram pa'i a [13.b] ma tsho 'grul po lam la bzhud bzhud // a bo dang smras pa de kun dga' legs pa'i glu // byar med lhug pa 'di rnal 'byor yongs kyi 'gros // da lta can sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa tsho dar zhus pas // bsam zhing 'brug pa'i bu brgyud tsho'i rang skyid pa / bkra shis byas 'then pas / zhal snga nas ni bzhad mos shig khyer song / gzhan ma tsho yang thugs bden gsung [gsungs] / don cher ma rtogs pa'i mgur dbyangs 'di yang brdzun gyi rkyal gog rang du 'dug byas / de nas gnang sbyin dpag tu med pa gnang byung ba rnams mang ja'i thog tu btang / smon lam btab // // de nas skyor mo lung la phyin pas dge 'dun pa thog cig gis / sprang snyogs khyer nas sleb byung zer ba la / yang dbyangs rta 'di btang ngo / / dus gsum sangs rgyas gtsang pa rgya ras // tshig rkyang ston pa'i brgyud pa min no // byin rlabs chen pos mnyam rjes 'dres nas // rtogs pa don gyi brgyud pa lags so // a'o / 'brug dang ra lung gdan sa ya bzhi // chags sdang spel ba'i gnas gzhi min no // mi rtag 'chi ba brgyud la bsams nas // tshe gcig sangs rgyas sgrub sa lags so // a'o / gcig chog rgyal po ngag dbang chos rgyal // sde srid rnams kyi dmag dpon min no // chos phung brgyad khri bzhi stong bsdus nas // stong nyid smra ba'i khyu mchog lags so // a'o / nga rang bya btang kun dga' legs pa // sprang snyogs khyer ba'i lang shor min no // pha yul chags sdang blo yi [pref. yis] spangs nas // bya btang 'dun ma'i yang rtse lags so // a'o / [14.a] zer ba byas btang bas / phā phā phā / ngag sgo'i yangs pa / spobs pa'i mtho ba / blo bde mdog rang kha zer / ngas yang 'di byas / 'di las chang mang po btung / bu mo gsol mo byung na / spobs pa mtho la blo bde mdog kha byas pas / zhol pa rnams kyis rkyan chang su rub mu rub / khyer nas 'dren par byung // // yang mtshan nyid pa thog cig gis / dkar brgyud pa'i chos 'di ding sang phyug pa la / dpon slob zog rgyal btsun ma'i khyo po // chang 'thung rgad po // phyag chen ha shang gi lta ba / rnam rtog chos sku yin zer / tshe rting ma 'du shes med pa'i lha dang dud 'gror skye ba'i rgyu yin bzod / rlung gi nus pa la brtan [pref. brten] nas mu stegs pa lo dgu'i bar du sa 'og tu bsdad nas dpag tshad gsum gyi 'og 'grims nas thon thub pa yong zer bas / ngas de 'dra dang sla / spyir gyis sngags kyi sdom pa la snod kyi 'jig rten gzhal yas khang / bcud kyi sems can lha dang lha mor bsgom pa la bskur [pref. skur] pa btab pas chos spong gi las yin / sgos su 'dul ba gzhir bzhag la mi dge bcu spong gi tshul khrims gal che bar / ngag gi las rdzun tshig rtsub phra ma spong dgos rgyu / tshig rtsub tu song bas 'dul ba dang 'gal / bdag bstod gzhan smod byas pas byang sems kyi sdom pa dang 'gal / sdom gsum gyi dri mas ma gos pa mdzad na ma gtogs zhal sdig ma gsog // gzhan ma dkar brgyud pa'i bya bral bug sgo phor pa shong tsam la har 'don thub pa yang [14.b] 'ga' re yong gi 'dug pa / khyad par rlung sems las su rung na / rlung gi rta la zhon nas sems zhi gnas yong ba de yin / rlung ma spras [pref. spros] par sems spo mi thub / ri khrod du sgom chen pa rnams kyis zla ba re tsam bcud len la bsten nas rcam [rtsam] pa dang mthun rkyen ye nas med par zug pa 'dug pa nged rang rnams kyis zhag gcig kyang tsha gro med par zug gam byas pas 'dra mo byang [pref. byung] zer // // yang bya bral ba de 'dra mtshan nyid pa'i chos tshig la 'byams pa'i dpe cha mang po blo la bzung ba 'di tshos don go mi shes par 'dug / byung na phyi mtshan nyid la nang gsang sngags pa bya ba yin pas phugs dkar brgyud pa byad [pref. byed] dgos pa yin 'dug / 'chi kar phan pa'i

[14.b-15.a]

chos rang de phyag chen sgom pa la zer bar 'dug / gzhan 'phral nga rgyal che la / sdug pa khag pa / phugs don 'bras chung ba cig las mi 'dug zer ba la / ngas 'di bya(s) / kho ra tsho ha ma go ba'i zhal 'phros de 'dra ma gtong / rgyal ba'i bka' shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pala thos bsam byas pas / sa lam gyi bsgrad chul [pref. tshul] shes nas thos pas grol te sgom mi dgos par sangs rgyas pa de yong ba yin / bcom ldan 'das kyis kyang chos phung brgyad khri bzhi stang [pref. stong] gsungs pa dang / 'khor lo bar pas stong nyid dngos bstan nas / bstan bya'i gtso bor byas nas ston pa'i mdo rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum la sogs pa gsungs 'dug pa / zhi gnas 'phran chegs [pref. tshegs] re bsgoms pas sangs rgya na / sangs rgyas ja rlung langs pa ni min / de 'dra'i lab lab byed mkhan mi yong / khyad par chos [15.a] thams cad rtag chad kyi mtha' dang bral bar / rig pa'i rnam grangs mtha' yas pas 'grub na ston pa de la dbu ma yang zer / don la rtogs pa'i ming yin / de tsa na 'di la brten nas / 'di 'byung ba'i rgyu 'bras la ming brda bzhag pa tsam du go nas / dbu ma 'am ' phyag chen nam / rdzogs chen zer ba de yong ba yin / gsang sngags kyang / khrid chung gsar pa re bsgoms pas yong ba min / lho brag mar pas rgya gar nas spyan drangs pa'i dpal nam kha' [nam mkha'] lta bu'i gsang 'dus dang / bde mchog/ 'jigs byed / kyai rdo rje la sogs pa'i rgyud lag len dang bcas pa nyams su blangs te skyed [pref. bskyed] rdzogs zung 'jug gi lam sgom zhing rlung sems dbu mar 'jug pa'i gnad la brten nas / yum dang sbyar nas 'ga' zhig dmigs pas 'dren nus pa'i phyag len ma 'phyugs pa ri bo dga' ldan pa la yod pa dang / sa skya pa la sbyor ba yan lag drug gi khrid la sogs pa gsang sngags kyi chos zab la mang ba yod / nged rang rnams kyis de kun blo la yang mi 'chun zhal rog par bzhugs byas pas / thugs bden de 'dra yod pa ni ma shes zer ba la / swau [so so] gyis dang / rkang pas sa ma zin par spyi bos gnam brtol / lag pas gar byed pa 'dug gyis dang /

[15.a-16.a]

rang gis btsan sa ma zin par gzhan la sbro [sgro] 'dogs / bkur [pref. skur] pa zhu ba 'di las rang sdug pa e 'dug gis dang / chos byed mi nus na 'jig rten byas pas chog gyis dang / gnyis ka mi nus na sprang po byas chog gyis dang / sdug kha tshum gyis dang / kha 'tshum mi shes [15.b] na 'dam spag gis dgogs dang byas 'grims phyin / de nas gtsang rong la phyin / nyang rong du sleb pa dang / tshe sngon dge bshes nyams bror skyes pa de dran nas / rgyal mkhar rtse'i zhol du khrom bsags / nged rang dpon slob bzhis bro rgyab / bro bshad [pref. gzhas] 'di btang ngo / ang gi rgya sde'i khrom pa tsho // ston pa nyams bro'i seng ge nga // ston pa mi shes dgu shes nga // nyi ma shar gyi phyogs nas yongs pa yin // nges par 'byung ba'i rta la zhon // skyabs gsum sdom pa lag tu khyer // chul [pref. tshul] khrims rnam dag 'khor du 'khrid // 'dzam gling sems can tsho thar pa'i sa bon sgrub phyir ngas yongs pa yin no // nyi ma lho yi phyogs nas yongs pa yin // tshad med bzhi yi rta la zhon // snying rje chen po lag tu khyer byang chub sems nyid 'khor du 'khrid // 'dzam gling sems can tsho theg dman gyi sa nas slog gin ngas yongs pa yin no // nyi ma nub kyi phyogs nas yongs pa yin// rten cing 'brel 'byung rta la zhon // ngo bo stong pa lag tu khyer // mtha' gnyis bral ba 'khor du 'khrid // 'gro drug sems can tsho bden 'dzin bcoms nas mthong lam gyi sa la bkod du ngas yongs pa yin no // nyi ma byang gi phyogs nas yongs pa yin // lha sku'i bskyed rim rta la zhon // rdzogs rim zab mo lag tu khyer // bde stong zung 'jug 'khor du 'khrid // 'gro drug sems can tsho rdo rje 'chang gi go 'phang la bkod du ngas yongs pa yin no // de la ngas yongs pa'i yongs lugs cem [tsam] byed pa yin // ang ge la khrom pa rnam pa tsho // bstan bcos la bya ba'i tshig gsum yod // yod pa la bya [16.a] ba'i bstan bcos yod // sdom gsum gtsang ma bsrung ba la so thar yod // rang 'dod bral ba la byang sems yod // bskyed rdzogs zung 'jug la gsang sngags yod //

[16.a-16.b]

de yod pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da med pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // phyi ser nang nag la tshul khrims med // kha mkhas gting nag la byang sems med // snang ba lha ru ma shar la gsang sngags med // de med pha [pa] gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // nga mi byed pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // blo bshed [pref. shed] med pa'i mda' stag de nga mi byed // nor med pa'i mdzod stong de nga mi byed // sdom med kyi ser gzugs de nga mi byed // de mi byed pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da mi mchod pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // snying rje med pa'i bla ma de nga mi mchod // phul bas mi mnyes pa'i dpon po de nga mi mchod // sbyin kyang 'khang ba'i g.yog po de nga mi mchod // de mi mchod pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da mchod pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // mthar thug mi bslu ba'i dkon mchog de mchod pa yin // dngos grub ster ba'i yi dam de mchod pa yin // bar chad sel ba'i chos skyong de mchod pa yin // de mchod pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da zur ba bzhi yi bstan bcos yod // las ngan dang sdig pa de bsags zer na // bcom ldan dang shā ka [pref. kya] thub de zur se zur // 'khrel med pa'i gdong tshan de mthong tsa na // phyug po bu lon gtong mkhan tsho zur se zur // byis [pref. byi] phrug khas mi len pa'i mje rgan de mthong tsa na // sman chung bu mo [16.b] tsho'i 'dom [pref. 'doms] sprag de zur se zur // nang mi bsam pa'i 'dun ma de mthong tsa na // ngo tsha dang khrel 'dzem de zur se zur // de zur ba bzhi yi bstan bcos yin // da 'dzin pa bzhi yi bstan bcos yin // yi dam mnyes pa'i bsnyen sgrub de 'dzin pa yin // phyogs ris bral ba'i lta ba de 'dzin pa yin // bying rgod bral ba'i sgom pa de 'dzin pa yin // tshul 'chos bral ba'i spyod pa de 'dzin pa yin // de 'dzin pa bzhi yi bstan bcos yin // da ma bkag pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // lta ba mtha' bral gyi dmigs pa de ma bkag pa yin // rgyu 'bras mi bslu ba'i mdo sde de ma bkag pa yin // sdig spong dge sgrub kyi 'dul ba de ma bkag pa yin // de ma bkag pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin //

[16.b-17.a]

da bgad mo 'chor ba gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // lto ma 'phyid pa'i gnas bskor de bgad mo 'chor // 'jig rten ma 'pher ba'i btsun pa de bgad mo 'chor // khyo bo ma rnyed pa'i btsun ma de bgad mo 'chor // de bgad mo 'chor ba gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da nor sa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // ngo tsha med dang 'khrul zhig la nor sa yod // rang dbang ba'i rgyan cha dang mi la g.yar ba la nor sa yod // ma nus pa dang jo bzang gnyis la nor sa yod // de nor sa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da nus pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // tshe 'di'i lto gos tsho mthong tsa na // ngan song gsum du 'gro bar nus // mig nye dang kho [pref. khe] 'tshol de mthong tsa na // dpon po dang bzang po de bslu bar nus // mna' ma dang gsol mo de mthong tsa na // pha ma dang rgan 'khogs de bskyur bar nus // [17.a] de nus pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da bskyur ba gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // blo ma tshad kyi bsod snyoms de mthong tsa na // snye ma dang mig med de bskyur ba yin // rgyugs len khar phye med kyi mig stabs de mthong tsa na // lcags gzar dang stong pa de bskyur ba yin // dkor zan dang mgo ril de mthong tsa na // las ngan dang rgyu 'bras de bskyur ba yin // de bskyur ba gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da go ba la bya ba'i bstan bcos yod // ngas go ba'i go lugs bshad tsa na // dge bshes tsho grong yul 'grim zhing 'khyam rgyug mang tsa na // dam chos dang sdom pa de rlung la bskur snying 'dod pa de ngas kyang go / bya bral tsho dus min gyi tho co byed tsa na // rang srog dgra 'dre la skyel snying 'dod pa de ngas kyang go / a ni btsun ma tsho rked pa la me long 'dogs tsa na // gsus khog byis phrug gis rgyong snying 'dod pa de ngas kyang go / a pha tsho nyo chang la dga' tsa na // bu mad [pref. smad] tsho ltogs rir gsod snying 'dod pa de ngas kyang go / a ma tsho lkog zas la rem tsa na // khyo pho tsho lho tshong byang bskyel la rdzong snying 'dod pa de ngas kyang go / a lce tsho rgyo ba sla tsa na // gor rgas ma lag pas khyag tshad 'dod pa de ngas kyang go //

mna' ma gsar pa tsho dbu yang mdzad tsa na // jo jo ming po dang khyo po tsho mda' kha mdung kha la sbyor ba de ngas kyang go / dpon po tsho khrims lugs 'chol tsa na // mnga' 'bangs tsho sdug la gtod pa de ngas kyang go / hor 'dra tsho dbang spus ngan tsa na // yul mi tsho 'don snying 'dod pa de ngas kyang go / de go ba la bya ba'i bstan [17.b] bcos yin // da dung bstan bcos le'u gsum yod // dgos pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // nges 'byung 'dul khrims zhi dul gsum // dge 'dun rnams la dgos pa yin // byams dang snying rje stong nyid gsum // chos pa kun la dgos pa yin // dam tshig sdom pa rgyu 'bras gsum // sngags pa rnams la dgos pa yin // gros dang blo khog sbye [pref. spyi] tshis gsum // gtso bo rnams la dgos pa yin // mda' kha dpa' rtsal blo gshed [pref. shed] gsum // stag shar rnams la dgos pa yin // mdzangs dang sems chung 'pher yong gsum // mo btsun rnams la dgos pa yin // mig 'dzum so dkar spyang grung gsum // sman shar rnams la dgos pa yin // dad pa mos gus gsol 'debs gsum // btsun ma rnams la dgos pa yin / da lha che gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // smyang ma gtong ba'i sprag 'chor la // khyi sgra ma langs lha re che // skyag pa gtong ba'i ngo mtshul la // mchi ma ma shor lha re che // 'dod chags spyod pa'i nyams dga' la // gad mo ma shor lha re che // da yal le gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // stu la mje rgyab za yal le // rkub la smyang ma se yal le // kha la rtsam pa skya yal le // da che ba gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // za rgyu med tshad ltogs la che // blo gshed [pref. shed] med tshad kha po che // rgan thung yin tshad mje rgan che // da chung ba gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // rgan po yin tshad bsam pa chung // byis [pref. byi] phrug yin tshad bsod nams chung // phyug po yin tshad zan rdog chung // da dam pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // phyug gsar ba rnams lag[18.a] pa dam // btsun ma yin tshad mdud rgya dam // rgan 'khogs yin tshad ko long dam // da dga' ba gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // bla ma thams cad 'bul bar dga' //

[18.a-18.b]

dpon po thams cad ngo bstod dga' // bud med thams cad shar por dga' // da tshud pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // mi the dgu the'i gtso bo rnams // rdo brdung bar du lag mgo tshud // tshogs ma bsags pa'i dad zas de // zhing ma dag pa'i kha ru tshud // dkor gyis tshig pa'i mje rgan de // yug sa(mo)'i stu ru tshud // da 'khregs pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // snye ma'i bal de snam bu mkhregs // byog po'i rdza de rdza rgyu mkhregs // mnga' ris pa rnams mgo po mkhregs // da 'jam pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // byang sems shes rgyud (R. bal) las 'jam // nyang pa'i dmag de dar las 'jam // nyang thang bal de snam bu 'jam // de 'jam pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da srab pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // sdom med chos pa sham thabs srab // lud med zhing de ljang pa srab // rgyo 'dod brla sha dar las srab // de srab pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yin // da gnong ba la bya ba'i bstan bcos yod // (R. drag) mdog chung tshad shags la gnong // sdig pa byas tshad 'chi kar gnong // rkun ma brkus tshad khrims rar gnong // phyen gong btang bas 'phong rar gnong // byis phrug che tshad khrom la gnong // sdom shor bla ma'i drung du gnong // de gnong pa la bya ba'i bstan bcos mdzod // da zad pa gsum gyi bstan bcos yod // nyo chang rgyab pas 'ga' mgo zad // 'thabs pas [18.b] bag ma'i ldom bu zad // brdungs pa'i ngang la mi tshe zad // a kyang nyams dga' zhus pa yin // da dge ba la bya ba'i bstan bcos yod // lta ba phyogs ris med pas dge / sgom pa bying rgod med pas dge / spyod pa shugs 'byung 'gag med dge / 'bras bu sku gsum lhun grub dge / bkra shis smon lam zhal mjal dge / a'u spyi bo ya gi bde chen gyi 'khor lo // de yi dbus na mtshan ldan gyi bla ma cig bzhugs // bsams bzhin 'brug pa'i bu brgyud tsho'i bsod nams kyi bsags pa la ya'i // a'u phu ya gi na rdo rje yi 'chang chen // de yi logs la chos brgyud kyi nyi ma cig shar zhus pas // bsams bzhin 'brug pa'i bu brgyud tsho'i bsod nams kyi bsags pa la ya'i // dad ldan dang slob ma tsho'i ab

[18.b-19.a]

bsod bsags pa la ang // 'au mda' ma gi na snyan rgyud kyi gdams ngag / de yi logs la nyams len gyi zla ba 'dra shar zhus pas // ri khrod 'grim mkhan tsho'i ab bsod kyi bsags pa la ya'i // ab bsod bsags pa de de tsug lags so ang // nyams bro'i glu bzhas de sems nyid bde ba yin a'o // dge bshes bzang po cig yin zer na a'o // mtshan ldan bla mas gang gsung la nyan dgos so a'o // mtshan ldan bla mas gang gsungs la ma nyan pa ru song zer na // a'o ya'i dam chos sdom pa shor ba'i dpe 'dug go ang // yul mi bde skyid 'dzom pa cig dgos zer na a'o // gtso bo dang rgan mgos gang byas la nyan dgos so a'o // gtso bo dang rgan mgos gang byas la ma nyan pa ru song zer na // a'o ya'i [19.a] 'dun ma rlung la shor ba'i dpe 'dug go ang // stag shar g.yul la 'byon pa ru song zer na a'o // dpa' rtsal mnyen gyong 'dzom pa cig dgos 'dug go a'o // dpa' rtsal mnyen gyong 'dzom pa ru ma song zer na / a'o ya'i rang srog dgra la skyel ba'i dpe 'dug go ang // sman shar khyim la 'byon pa ru song zer na a'o // spyang la mgo tshags dam pa cig dgos 'dug go a'o // lkugs ma dbu yang mdzad pa ru song zer na // a'o ya'i sang phyin gnang log byung ba'i dpe 'dug go ang // bu tsha bsod nams can cig yin zer na a'o // drin can pha mas gang slabs [pref. bslabs] la nyan dgos so a'o // drin can pha mas slabs [pref. bslabs] pa la ma nyan pa ru song zer na // a'o ya'i lang shor rul pa byung ba'i dpe 'dug go ang // zhes zer ba byas nas bro 'khrabs pas / rgyal mkhar rtse nas sde pas gsan nas 'bod mkhan gnang / zab zab gzigs gzigs mang po mdzad / 'an ci'i rgod [pref. dgod] bro ba la / nged rang rnams kyis de tsho blo la mi 'chun zhal rog par bzhugs / chos rje kun legs pas bro mkhas pa de 'dra gang du bslabs pa / skyag zan tshig don thams cad bdan [bden] bden rang du 'dug go / wa dmar po l lo khyod tsho la gang byung ba / bro de 'dra bslabs nas bzhugs gral bzhin tshogs rgyab chog pa gda' ste gsung [gsungs] / kho rang gi dgug sdod pa rnams la bka' skyon gnang gi 'dug go / de nas zhol de ru gnas mo cig gi nang du phyin pas / gsol khrum [pref. skrum] tshad med pa zhus byung ba nas mnga' ris nas yin [19.b] zer ba'i rnal 'byor pa'i gzugs cig gnas mo la gnas chang [pref. tshang] g.yar nas / sing po cig btungs / grum phad bsdams pa'i sbod do cig 'dug pa bcal [pref. bcol] nas / phyir rtsam pa slong du song bas / de'i shul du gnas mos phad bu bshig nas blta gin 'dug pas spos shel gyis khengs 'dug pa la / gnas mos spos shel gsum bton nas nyung rdog gsum rdzong grabs 'dug pas / ngas gnas mo la nyon dang byas 'di bshad do /   / ngas dpe cha cig la bltas pas / 'di 'dra cig 'dug / sngon gyi skabs su gnang yul zhes bya ba'i phu na / rdzun ham zhes bya ba'i mi ltogs cig la / bu 'du ba dang 'du chung gnyis yod de / nam longs dus yong na snyam pa yid la byed pa cig dang / lung pa'i mda' na rab 'jigs bya ba'i mi ltogs cig yod pa khong gnyis grogs po byas te 'khyam du phyin pas / shing sdong po cig gi rtsa na 'od chen po cig 'dug pa de brkos nas bltas pas / gser zangs bum bre gang tsam 'gro ba cig rnyed pas khong gnyis dga' nas / rab 'jigs kyis glu blangs pa / e ma grogs po rdzun ham nyon // ser sna'i las kyis dbul por song // sbyin pa btang ngam 'on te ci // bsod nams 'bras bus bdag cag gnyis // de ring rin chen gter rnyed pas // da ni dkon mchog mchod par bya // ces smras pas / rdzun ham na re / grogs po de ring gser gter 'di rnyed pa khyod kyi bsod nams las gzhan min / khyod la btang rag tu bdag gis chang sna la sogs pa'i zas kyi bye brag rnams btsal te / zhag gsum steng du dga' spro [20.a] skyong / de bar gser 'di ngas khyer te skyid pa'i nyin mo bgo sha byed / 'on te 'khrul pa min las che / lha 'dre'i cho 'phrul rang cang min nam / zhes smras so // de 'dra rang min las che / bdag kyang zhag gsum na 'ong / de nas bgo sha byed do zer nas song ngo // de rjes rdzun ham gyis gser bton te shing phye rul pa bre gang blug nas bzhag pas zhag gsum na rab 'jigs byung nas sgo

[20.a-20.b]

brdungs pas / kho dngangs pa bzhin byas nas ngu gin phyin pa dang / rab 'jigs kyis grogs po ci byung zhes dris pas / rdzun ham na re / khyod yongs pa lta dga' ste / nga la shod mi phod pa'i las cig byung zer / der rab 'jigs kyis rdzun yin par shes nas / grogs po shod mi thub rgyu ci yod / nged rang gnyis snying dang 'dra bas skyon med kyi shod dang byas pas / kho na re / nga ni khyed la shi phod / grogs po'i sems la ngas rdzun dang ham pa byas snyam ma mdzad cig / de gang ngas 'khrul pa 'am / cho 'phrul ma yin nam byas pa bzhin du / nged rang gi gser de shing gi phye mar song nas mi 'dug / da nang la shog mdza' ra za'o zer ngu yi 'dug pas / rab 'jigs na re / grogs po mi la na tsha dang shi chad ni ma byung / dngos po 'dra sdig pa gs(og pa)'i rgyu yin pas bzod / sdug bsngal byed mi rigs / nang la 'gro zar [zer] nas phyin pas / rdzun ham gyis rab 'jigs la chang mang po drangs / bu 'du ba dang 'du chung gnyis bro khrab tu bcug pas / rab 'jigs na re / khyod kyi bu 'di gnyis rmi lam sgyu ma min las che / ltad mo rang che [20.b] zer nas song ngo // dus nam zhig gi tshe / nam lannyag pa'i dus su rab 'jigs kyis chang mang bar 'khur / gang bu dang srus dum pa cig khyer nas rdzun ham gyi rtsar phyin te / bu gnyis la gang srus byin te mgu bar byas so // rab 'jigs kyis bu gnyis zhag 'ga' nga'i yul du thod dang / gang srus dang se 'bru yang smin yod / ba cig yod pa de la be'u yang skyes nas dkar chu yang 'bol bar yod / nga'i chung ma la yang phru gu bzhin med pas snying la 'dod pa yin 'dug cis kyang thod / de nas grogs po rang yang myur du yongs nas skyid skyid byed zer bas / rdzun ham kyang bden snyam bu gnyis kho'i rjes la btang ngo // de nas zhag 'ga' zhig song tsa na / rdzun ham gyis bu gnyis 'bod du phyin pas / rab 'jigs kyis chang mang po drangs nas ngu ba ltar byas pas / rdzun ham na re grogs po ci la ngu / mi la na tsha dang shi chad ni ma byung / gzhan ci byung kyang ngu ba las kyi tha ma yin zer / der rab 'jigs na re /

[20.b-21.b]

ngas khyod la shod mi thub pa'i kham chen po cig byung byas pas / kho na re / grogs po snying dang 'dra ba la / sngar khyod rang gis zer ba ltar shod mi thub pa ci la yong / shod dang zer bas / rab 'jigs kyis khyod kyi bu de sngar bro brdungs pa'i skabs su sgyu ma ni min nam byas pa ltar spre'ur song nas ma byung byas pas / kho na re / mi spre'ur song ba'i dpe tsam ma gtogs tshor ma myong ston dang zer bas / rab 'jigs kyis dpe med dpe la mangs nas med // sngar gong gser phye shing phyer song // de 'dra sngan chad tshor ma myong // [21.a] mi gnyis yod pa spre'ur song // pho grogs gnyis kyi chags go 'di // dpe la med pa'i ltas ngan yin // 'du ba 'du chung gnyis 'dir shog dang zer bas // spre'u gnyis rgyugs byung nas sro ma sgrub pa dang / rna ba rngog pa la sogs pa dga' ba'i rnam 'gyur mang du byas pas / rdzun ham kha skyengs ngo tsha nas dar cig cang mi zer / de nas grogs po khyod bden / ngas de tsam kyi khram dang g.yo rgyu phod na / khyod kyis de tsam los phod / da gser phye shing phyer song ba yang bden dogs med / mi spre'ur song dogs kyang med pas / bu yang 'thod / gser yang bgo sha byed zer bas rab 'jigs kyis smras pa / sngon chad nor ba'i lam la // phyis nas 'gro na 'khrul pa yin mi lus lan cig thob pa la // chos med stong log de las 'khrul // sngan chad grogs pos bslus pa la // da yang nyan na ci las 'khrul // gser phye long dang bu yang gtod // de min spre'u 'khrid la bzhud // byas pas rdzun ham gyis gser blangs nas bgo sha byas // bu yang gtad nas so sor gyes so // de nas yun ring po zhig song ba dang / khong gnyis tshe'i dus byas / sngar gyi smon lam gyis bar dor 'dzom ste / rdzun ham gyis grogs po khyod kyis nga'i bu spre'ur song zer ba'i ham pa de ches pas / dmyal ba'i sdug bsngal de khyod che ba yong zer / rab 'jigs kyis a la la / khyod kyi ngas bsad pa ni min / phugs khyod rang gi rtsar sleb pa las 'os med / de las dkon mchog [21.b] mchod par kha 'chad byas pa'i gser khyod kyis rdzun dang

[21.b-22.a]

ham pas bslus pas / khyod nag che nged rang gnyis lab mi dgos / chos kyi rgyal pos zhal lce bcad yong bas 'dengs [pref. dengs] zer nas gshin rje'i drung du phyin te / zhal lce bcad pas / chos kyi rgyal po'i bka' lung las / rdzun ham khyod kyis gser shing phyer song byas pa'i rnam smin la / lo lnga brgyar shing phye rngos pa'i dkyil du tshos shig / de'i lan du rab 'jigs kyis phugs na blo ngan ma byas kyang mi spre'ur song byas pa'i rnam smin la spre'u'i lus lnga brgya long zhig / de rjes gnyis kas drang por smras pa'i 'bras bus mi lus chos dang ldan pa thob par byed do // khyad par rab 'jigs kyis gser rnyed ma khad la / dkon mchog mchod pa'i tshigs bcad des bstan pa la rab tu byung ste theg pa chen por sems bskyed nas / sangs rgyas kyi 'bras bu smin yong bas de bzhin go bar gyis la / las kyi gshin rje rnams kyis rdzun ham shing phye dmar po'i nang du 'khrid gsungs ma thag tu las mkhan rnams kyis rke [pref. ske] la thag pa nag po rgyab nas 'khrid song ngo / rab 'jigs ni mi yul gyi nags gseb cig tu spre'u'i lus lnga brgya len dgos byung 'dug pa / de bas na gnas mo rang yang mi'i spos shel dang nyung ma brjes nas rdzun mdzad na / las rgyu 'bras zhib mo de 'dra la rnam smin che bas ma mdzad byas pas thugs bden zer ngo tsha nas bsdad 'dug go /

// rnal 'byor nga ni nyams dga' skyong // dwags po lung pa'i rgyang glu dang // dpon g.yog gnyis kyi gros 'debs dang // [22.a] gnas po rtas bskyur mgur ma dang // gzhan yang lo rgyus phran tshegs yod // nyams su shar ba kha la shor // nyes na song la legs na nyon / / yang lan cig tsa ri nas dwags lha sgam po la tshur yongs dus / grum mda' ru zhag mang po bsdad / a ce or mos dgon gsar gzhis khar zhabs tog bzabs nas byas / skye bo'i tshogs mang po la chos 'brel btags / chu chen pos thams cad khyer 'gro ba cig 'dug pa de la gtan zam btsugs / nyin cig sgam po la 'gro bsam ko ba btang nas phyin pas / dwags mo gzhon nu ma lngas rgyang glu 'di mgrin cig tu

[22.a-22.b]

'then gyi 'dug / a'o dang zhus pa de mtshan ldan gyi bla ma // khyed rang mi bzhugs dgon pa phyogs la thegs na // thugs dam bu mo'i sems rten la zhog dang // rting ma bu mo chos tshogs 'khor 'khur nas sleb yong // yang na las bzang gzhon nu cho [tsho] chos la 'khrid dang a'o dang e na // a'o dang zhus pa de tshe sngon gyi las 'phro // bsags rgyab yod na bu mo tsho chos la sbyor dang // bsod nams yod na dgon sde khra mo la skyod dang // las ngan khyim thab de rna bas thos su ma 'jug a'o dang e na // a'o dang zhus pa de 'brug smyon pa'i kun legs // ngan song dang 'khor ba'i skyo grogs cig mdzod dang / sgos su bu mo tsho'i blo sna chos la bsgyur dang // zer byung bas / nga'i rtog pa la 'di byung / bu mo pha gi kun gyi tshig de dad pa che mdog kha po cig byung / 'chal gtam byab lo ni min las che / yin kyang chos kyi 'brel pa yin pas [22.b] snyam glu lan 'di gzhal lo // a'o dang smras pa na chung ma'i gzhon nu // skyo rang mi dgos skyo rogs sems la chol dang // chos la mos na ni blo thag chod la shog dang / chos rgyags mi dgos snang srid lha 'dres sbyor yong // 'phral phugs gnyis ka skyid pa'i nyi ma cig shar yong // a'o dang smras pa blo 'khrid kyi bu mo // blos rang ma chod na bskos pa'i 'jig rten gyis dang // bu tsha gtan grogs gong gi lha bzhin 'khur dang / / so nam rems la 'bras bu dge rtsar thong dang a'o // grong pa khyim mtshes dang sems shong lus shong gyis dang // bu dang bu mo tsho dam pa'i chos la sbyor dang // snga zer che la za 'dod chung ba cig gyis dang // chos pa rnams la zhabs tog gang 'grub cig mdzod dang // zas la yangs shing theg pa che ba cig gyis dang // rting ma smon lam chos dang 'phrad par thob dang // a'o zer ba byas pas / bu mo gsum sgam po'i ri khrod la bros byung // // yang lan cig nged kyis 'phyong rgyas su rta 'chag pa'i zla la/ gnas po don grub kyis kyang rta 'chag tu phyin pas / gnas po rtas bskyur nas 'dug ste / ma longs par lag pa nyab nyab rkang pa yab yab byed kyi 'dug pas / ngas mgur

[22.b-23.b]

'di btang ngo / a ho de nyog khyad / rdzong gzhis btsan po la bsrung cha med na de 'dras yong ngo // zhing bzang po la so nam ma byas na de 'dras yong ngo // khang pa bzang po la thigs tshags ma byas na de 'dras yong ngo // chos zab mo la nyams len ma byas na de 'dras yong ngo // mi [23.a] lus thob nas dam chos med kyang de 'dras yong ngo // khrims lugs med pa'i dpon po byas kyang de 'dras yong ngo // bka' gros med pa'i blon po byas kyang de 'dras yong ngo // nga rgyal che la skyag mkhos chung kyang da [de] 'dras yong ngo // bu mad [pref. smad] mang la za rgyu dkon na de 'dras yong ngo // dam bca' mang la snying rus chung na de 'dras yong ngo // sdom pa mi bsrung 'dul ba mdzad na de 'dras yong ngo // bskyed rdzogs mad [med] pa'i sngags pa mdzad na de 'dras yong ngo // lta ba med pa'i sgom pa mdzad na de 'dras yong ngo // dus tshod mi bstun spyod pa mdzad na de 'dras yong ngo // mdo sngags mi mthun bshad pa mdzad na de 'dras yong ngo // tshad ma mi mkhyen brtsod [pref. rtsod] pa mdzad na de 'dras yong ngo // rang 'dod ma spangs sems bskyed mdzad kyang de 'dras yong ngo // ngo bo ma mthong mnyam bzhag mdzad kyang de 'dras yong ngo // bsod nams chung la dran rgya che na de 'dras yong ngo // bla ma yin kyang dam chos med na de 'dras yong ngo // rang la mi bsam gzhan la 'khang na de 'dras yong ngo // rgyu 'bras mi bsam chos gzugs byas kyang de 'dras yong ngo // he ru ka min pa'i ral pa bcings kyang de 'dras yong ngo // rgyab skyor med pa'i ngo log byas kyang de 'dras yong ngo // na so rgas nas byas yus ches na de 'dras yong ngo // gra tshang mang la grub mtha' mi mthun na de 'dras yong ngo // mchod pa che la mchod gzhis chung na de 'dras yong ngo // rta bzang po la rtsal med zhon [23.b] na de 'dras yong ngo // byas pas khong rnams kyis gnas po bslangs 'dug // kha skyengs nas gad mo sig gi sig gi bgad kyi 'dug go // // he he sngon sangs rgyas zhal bzhugs pa'i dus su // nad pa gcig / sman pa gcig / chung ma gcig rnams yod pa las / nad yun rings nas gsum ka bsun pa dang / nad pa'i bsam pa la / yang na drag / yang na dngos po 'di tsho ma zad tsam la shi na dga' ba la bsam / sman pa'i bsam pa la 'di gsos pa ni mi 'dug shi na dga' ba la / nga'i gdul bya'i lam bsgyang ba las mi 'dug bsam / chung ma'i bsam pa la/ 'di shi na khyo po gzhan zhig btsal bas chog par 'dug bsam pa la / sangs rgyas kyis bkra shis rgyal bar gyur cig ces gsungs pas / nad pas rin chen srog dang ma bral na // sgyu ma'i nor rdzas btsal bas chog / ces par go / chung mas / sngan ma nga la nan tan nyan // phyi ma cir gyur [pref. 'gyur] cha yang med // ces par go / sman pas / nor gyi mchog ni snying rje yin // nad pa de gsos kun tu brin // bya bar go ba yin 'dug / // yang skabs shig rmi lam du / lha'i yul la phyin pa snyam byed pa la / lha 'ga' zhig tshe ring ba'i sdug bsngal byed pa mthong / de nas mi rgan mang pos mkhar las rgya chen po byed pa mthong / de nas ko mog cig na sbal pa mang po nyi ma lde ba mthong / de nas lha khang cig na lha rnams skyo shas che mdog kha ba mthong / nga yi chad nas / skyo glu 'di 'dras 'then pa rmis so / [24.a] sangs rgyas don gnyis grub pa'i thugs brel la // 'gro ba rang don ma 'grub pa'i dal mdog la ang // dal 'byor mi lus thob pa'i 'phangs tshod la // dud 'gro rtsed mo byed pa'i dal mdog la ang // gser mig mtsho la sdod pa'i brel lugs la // sbal pa kong la sdod pa'i skyid mdog la ang // mi tsho sgom sgrub la skyal ba'i skyo shas la // sdig la hab thob byed mkhan tsho'i bde mdog la ang // lha bskal par sdod mkhan tsho'i skye mdog la // lnga bcu kha ral tsho'i blo sna'i ring lugs la ang // byas nas 'then pas // khyed lha yul la sems shor ba 'dra / ding sang shog zer byung bas / ngas 'di byas / sangs rgyas ma thob na gang du skyes kyang sdug bsngal gyi rang bzhin du 'dug / yong mi yong lta rung byed byas pa 'di 'dra zhig rmis byung ci 'dra zhig yin no ma shes // // de nas bya yul gyi pho brang yang rtser / tshogs

[24.a-25.a]

'khor zhig 'dug pa'i gral na 'brug pa'i cog pu ba mang po chang gis spar te song nas / dpon sa chos rgyal gling pa la mchor byas / snang ba bde bde mo mang po 'then / sgom zhu bud bud 'khrab kyi 'dug pas / nga rang yang 'jig rten mi chos kyi skabs su pha dang bral / ma a khus bag mar blangs / ming sring gsum yod pa so sor gyes pas skyid po rang ma myong ste / lha chos nas bsams na chos ni drag shos tsho la 'ang dka' mo 'dug / lto gos ni sdug tu rang ma song / sa zhing med pas yul ltad mthong / gnyen [24.b] tshan med pas yon bdag rnyed // dpon po med pas rang dbang thob // dpon sa dkyes pa 'dug pas sgom chen pa lugs kyi mgur ma cig byed byas 'di 'then no // nga spyi mchod kyi bla ma ma byas skyid // spyi mchod kyi bla ma byas pa na // phyi ldir dang dbang yod sdud sdud nas // rang dam chos nyams su len long med // nga mtshan nyid kyi slob dpon ma byas skyid // mtshan nyid kyi slob dpon byas pa na // btsun chung gi snying sdug 'tshol 'tshol nas // mdo rgyud kyi tshig don bsam long med // nga ri khrod kyi dgon par ma bsdad skyid // ri khrod kyi dgon par bsdad pa na // btsun ma'i 'dzum dkar lta lta nas // sdom gsum gyi gnad tshang lta long med // nga bya bral gyi spyod pa ma byas skyid // bya bral gyi spyod pa byas pa na // gzhan sems ls spyod yul byed byed nas // rang sems la lta rtog byed long med // nga sa zhing gi gnyer kha ma byas skyid // sa zhing gi gnyer kha byas pa na // gzhan la bogs khral 'jal 'jal nas // rang nyid skyid po byed long med // nga gnyen la re ba ma byas skyid // gnyen la re ba byas pa na // drin drangs kyi sdug yus khur khur nas // dpon zas drin med kyi skyid po byed long med // nga dpon po'i hor 'dra ma byas skyid // dpon po'i hor 'dra byas pa na // gzhan la blo shed ngom ngom nas // rang las ngan min pa gsog long med // nga yul pa'i gtso bo ma byas skyid // yul pa'i gtso bo byas pa na // spyi tshis dang spyi gros byed byed nas / [25.a] rang don rnam dag de byed long med // nga sngags

[25.a-25.b]

pa'i khro bo ma bsgoms skyid // sngags nag gi khro bo bsgoms pa na // gzhan gyi srog rtsa gcod gcod nas // byang chub kyi sems la sgom long med // nga bon po'i lha 'dre ma mchod skyid // g.yung drung gi lha 'dre mchod pa na // tshe 'di'i g.yang 'gugs byed byed nas // dkon mchog la skyabs 'gro byed long med // nga spyod yul gyi phaṭ sgra ma sgrogs [pref. bsgrags] skyid // spyod yul gyi phaṭ sgra sgrogs [pref. bsgrags] pa na / lha 'dre'i gdong len byed byed nas // sems kyi gzhi rtsa gcod long med // nga pha spun gyi zla la ma bsdad skyid // pha tshan gyi zla la bsdad pa na // bza' med kyi sdug 'thab rgyag rgyag nas // gang bde'i rgyal khams bskor long med // nga nyan rang gi dam chos ma byas skyid // nyan rang gi grub mtha' bzung ba na // rang don kyi bya ba sgrub sgrub nas / pha ma dang gzhan drin 'jol [pref. 'jal] dus med // byas glu blangs chang btungs btsun ma ye shes 'tsho mo la 'o byas pas / bgad cha che la / khyod dkar brgyud pa'i dpa' rgan rang du 'dug zer / 'di 'dra'i mgur ma mi la ras pa'i bu brgyud la los yong byas / dpon pa'i drung gis kyang bdag rkyen yags po rang gnang / bu ram btsun ma'i mgo bo tsam sgor nas drangs / 'khris la bcar bcar mang po mdzad // bya ba chos mdzad ma yang nga la sems shor nas ci drag na / a'u mgur ma rang mi snyan ri shi na / 'di las snyan pa zhig sus [25.b] kyang mi yong zer / a'u zer gzan legs po cig sgron byung / de nas yon mchod tshang mas rtse mo ri la phebs dus / pi waṁ [pref. wang] mkhan po snyan po zhig byung bas / dpon g.yog thams cad gzigs su byon nas gsan gyi 'dug / ngas kyang pi waṁ [pref. wang] chung chung cig yod pa de brdungs nas glu 'di 'dras 'then no / / e ma ho / rnal 'byor kun dga' legs pa nga ni / pi waṁ [pref. wang] sgra yi chos sgra sgrog tshe // dri za rnams kyang 'jum ['dzum] chung ston // gar dgu'i nyams kyis rol rtsed byed tshe / / dpa' bo rnams kyang gar stabs bsgyur // rang gi sems nyid mnyam par 'jog tshe // 'gro ba rnams kyang lham me ba // cir snang lta thabs

[25.b-26.a]

lhug par skyong tshe // kun kyang bde bar chams se chams // sgyu 'phrul lha mo gar dgus mchod tshe // bde ba chen por 'khyil li li // drin can pha ma'i spyod 'gros mthong tshe // mig nas sbrang char si li li // dus gsum rgyal ba'i thugs rje mthong tshe // yid kyi padmo gsal la la // rang rig gcig pu'i bya byed mthong tshe // sna tshogs gcig tu hri li li // ro gcig du ma'i 'char sgo bltas na // gcig pus sna tshogs kun la khyab // tha dad med pa'i zung 'jug chen po'i // rnam par thar pa bgad mo bro'o // ces rgyud la ma skyes rung / yin mdog kha ba 'dra byas 'then pas / zhal ngo dpon g.yog thams cad kyis / pi waṁ [pref. wang] mkhan po rgyang btang nas / nga la bskor nas nyan / dad pa skyes skyes 'dras mdzad kyi 'dug / bdag rkyen dang gus zhen che rab gnang byung ste / sbyin bdag dad pa can gyi go (/) [26.a] / khar rgyun ma ring zer ba ltar / chos 'brel yang de kha tsam yin byas //

// Mon la 'grims phyin pa'i bar lam lo ro dos bya ba'i nang la yar phyin pas / yur mi mang po 'dug pa'i zhing 'khris kyi na kha cig tu cog bu phub nas mgur ma lhang lhang bsdad pas / bu mo gzhon nu lha mo rang 'dra ba lnga byung nas / yur nyung gi yos dang bu ram dang bra khur sogs zhus nas / chos rje lags / nged tshos chos byed pa ni blo yis rang ma chod / zhor la ma ṇi 'gro ba 'phral la glu yin pa / kha dal med rang 'then chog pa zhig gnang bar zhu zer bas / ngas 'di bslabs nas 'then du bcug go / oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // chos kyi nyi ma shar pa'i bro // bśkal pa ya'i bzang po'i sangs rgyas stong la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // nyi ma ya'i shar ba de bstan pa dar ba la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // brgyud pa'i phu de rdo rje 'chang chen la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // brgyud pa'i mda' de kun dga' legs pa yin no // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // chos brgyud la bzang po de de nas de ru 'dug go / oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // byin rlabs ya'i dngos grub de 'dir tshogs la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // [26.b] gzhas skal bzang po'i bro // gzhi ba ya'i bzang po de dkyil 'khor khra mo la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // mgron po ya'i yags po de bde mchog lha sku la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ / gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // mchod pa la phul nas bde stong skyong rgyu la yin no // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // gzhi ba ya'i bzang po de 'gro drug pha ma la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // mgron po ya'i yags po de shā kya thub pa la zhu'o / oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ / gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // mchod pa la phul nas don gnyis 'grub par bya'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // gzhi ba la bzang po de dad can nya ma la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // mgron po la yags po de kun dga' legs pa la zhu'o // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // mchod pa la phul nas dam chos zhu rgyu la yin no // oṁ bzang ma ṇi padme la hūṁ // gzhas skal ba bzang po'i bro // chos kyi nyi ma shar ba'i bro // bskal pa bzang po de sangs rgyas stong la zhu'o // zhes zer ba gyis byas / ba lo sprugs pas khong rnams dga' drags nas / a tsa rang ma na / a'o / ci rang drag na mi rgan phi la ltos dang sems ma dga' ri na a'u / 'di 'dra'i snyan snyan shes pa a'u aer / dad pa yin nam byab lo yin ni ma shes byung // // de nas mon la 'grims phyin / mon rgyal po'i sgo drung du slab [pref. bslebs] pa dang / gsol [27.a] 'debs 'di ltar byas so // na mo / 'og min chos dbyings kyi pho brang nas bltas tsa na // chos sku rdo rje 'chang chen gyi nyams shig shar byung ngo // nges pa lnga ldan gyi rnal 'byor la gsol ba 'debs so // gsang

[27.a-27.b]

sngags chos 'khor de bskor rgyu rang yin no // bla ma dang yi dam gyis byin gyis brlobs [pref. rlobs] shig / gnas mchog de bya rgod phung ri nas bltas tsa na / bcom ldan shā kya thub pa'i nyams cig shar byung ngo // chos 'khor la bskor ba'i rnal 'byor pa lags so // bstan pa'i bdag po de byed rgyu rang yin no // sangs rgyas dang byang sems kyis byin gyis rang brlobs [pref. rlobs] shig // gnas de rgyal khams phyogs med tsho 'grim tsa na // 'brug smyon dang kun legs pa'i nyams cig shar byung ngo // blo bde dang thag chod pa'i rnal 'byor pa lags so // rgad po dang zangs skyogs mgo yis byin gyis rang brlobs [pref. rlobs] mdzod dang / / zer ba byas pas / mon rgyal po'i jo mo sprad mo dar zer ba de / mdo li la bteg nas / nged dpon slob la gzigs su byon / gzhan yang yul grong de'i bu mo thams cad 'dus nas / go la dang pha tun zer ba'i shing thog zhim po gang yang drangs / 'bras chang rgun 'brum sogs kyis [pref. kyi] chang ka li rgyangs nas zhus byung bas / ngas mon glu 'di 'then no // a sho dang la li yā li la sho la yā yā / sa de ma gi zhig rgya yul ma ga dha na // a sho la li yā dang la sho la yā yā / / a sho nyin gcig la tshong phrug brgya tsam tshogs // a la la tshogs tsam nas [27.b] 'bral ba 'di skyo rang skyo byung // sho mo tshong 'dus ma gyes na dga' ba la yā yā // a'o nyi ma yi gung la dbang med du 'bros so // sa de ya gi zhig mi yul gyi skya mo na // a'o pha ma la 'dzom pa'i ming sring gnyis yod // a la la tshe stod dga' ba'i lha khyim du tshogs te // a'o tshogs tsam nas 'gyes pa de skyo mo rang gda' ste // a'o mi rtag 'chi ba kho byung na dbang med du 'bral lo // sho mo 'bral mi phod cig rang 'dod na rtse gcig dam chos la 'bungs dang // sa de khyad par can mon yul rgyal po'i sgo drung na // dus dang 'phral la yon mchod smon lam gyis 'dzom byung // a'o 'dzom dus la dga' yang 'bral dus la mi dga' / a la la mi dga' yang 'gyes grabs rang skyo yo // sho mo yang yang la mjal nas chos 'khor rang bskor bar //

[27.b-28.a]
a ho smon lam rang thob dang dad ldan gyi nya ma // zer ba byas pas / mon pa rnams na re / a la la bhi shu bhi shu glu dang gi gang dga' gang dga' bi bas / sems dkar po snang ba pha gi nas 'khor shog / a la la sing ma / nga ni bla ma'i phyi la a'o // sdod snying rang 'dod do // zer mchi ma bton byung bas / ci yin dris pas / btsun ma cig na re / glu rang snyan nga'i sems 'di ga shed nas skyo chong se chong se byung zhing bla ma'i phyi la 'gro snying 'dod byung zer ba yin pa 'dug zer / de'i nub mo nged la grub rtags 'dug mi 'dug lta ba'i phyir / rgyal pos khang pa thog gcig ma dar cog nag po yod pa / su la yang ma 'brel ba'i nang na skye [28.a] / dman cig yod pa'i nang du bskyal byung bas / mon mo des 'bras bzan cig dang chang ku ba gang bskyal nas rgyab bstan nas sdod kyi 'dug / nged rnams kyis de zos btungs byas der bsdad / sang nyin phar don phyin pas rtsig pa'i skyog cig na bod pa'i bya bral 'chi la khad gcig dang // gcig ni shi 'dug // gcig pu de la ci byung dris pas / mon dug byung zer / gang nas byung byas pas / khang chung dar cog nag po byas pa pha gi dug mo'i khang pa yin pa ma shes par zan dang chang sbyin byung ba zos pas kho shi / nga yang 'chi ba min pa 'gro sa med zer / nged dpon slob gsum la ni gang yang ma byung bar rgyal po'i pho brang nang du 'tshangs phyin pas / hor 'dra rnams kyis dug mda' dang reg dug zer ba'i rdzas sogs kyang mang du rgyab byung yang / ngas rgyal po de khri kha nas mgo mjug slog / ldan sngu nas 'changs / khyod rang ngas zer ba la nyan nam / mi nyan na bsad gtong byas pas / nyan zer bas / mon sribs lha khang bya ba cig brtsig tu bcug / chos dar ba bla mar bskos / mon pa'i 'thus btsun sum cu tsam chos la btsud / las rgyu 'bras kyi chos kyang bshad / mon rgyal po dpon g.yog thams cad kyis nged dpon slob la dug g.yos pas ma tshugs / dug mdas ma phigs / reg dug gis ma 'gyel bas grub thob rang du 'dug zer / mthong dang gus zhen che ba tshad med pa byas / de nas bzung ste mon shar

du 'brug [28.b] pa'i bstan pa dar ba byung / a kyang gzhan gang yin kyang mon mo las rang sha 'jam pa 'bol ba / zhabs tog 'khyogs pa'i phyag rgya ma ma byung / swau [so so] gyis dang / srog gi rlung langs nas mon yul gting gshongs la phyin gyis dang / grub rtags med kyang ston dgos pa byung gyis dang / 'gro don mi yong kyang byed dgos pa byung gyis dang / lto gos 'tshol phyir 'khyams pa min gyis dang / 'bul ba thams cad skyur nas yongs pa yin gyis dang / g.yer ma rdog po cig kyang khyer yongs pa med gyis dang / de nas yang rgya gar thag nye mo yod zer phyin pas / grong khyer cig na a pha sa nti ka zer ba'i rgyal po cig 'dug / 'jag ma'i spyil po cig gi sgo drung na / rnal 'byor pa rgyags po cig 'dug pa shi 'dug / zla bo cig 'dug pa smon lam 'debs kyi 'dug / ci yin dris pas 'brum byung zer / sgo de'i nang la phyin pas a tsa ra pho mo gnyis 'dug pa de zhed nas bros song / phug pa de na rdo'i mje chen po cig dang / 'dam pag gi stu chen po btsag gis byugs pa cig 'dug / mdun na zas kyi rnam grangs mang po dang khrag 'thor ba'i rjes 'ga' re 'dug go / de la lha gsol ba yin zer / gtsang sbras thon par byed kyi 'dug pa la khong rnams ma dga nas / dbang phyug chen po de mo mtshan de'i nang la rgyab pas dgra gang la dmigs pa de sna khrag khrul le shi 'gro ba 'dug / 'brum rdung ba byas kyang de kha yin pa 'dug / nged dpon slob kyis 'bras chang dang 'bras [29.a] tshod g.yos pa'i 'phro 'dug pa rnams zos btungs byas phyi la don phyin pas / a tsa ra gnyis log byung nas / tra mo he bandha badzra kha da he dha ra dha rdol pa hib hib zhes zer / bod skad du bsgyur na / bod ngan pa'i btsun pa rdo 'jong cig mgo la rgyab nas bsad btang ha phan pa la / rigs ngan grib che zer bar 'dug / de nas khang pa'i phyi nang thams cad bkrus byed kyi 'dug / de'i rjes la ma he'i gci ba dang / sa bsres nas gzhal [pref. zhal] ba byas / smyug lo'i dud pas phyi nang med par bdugs / nged rnams la yang 'brum brdungs nas e shi bltar byung bas / nged rnams kyis

[29.a-29.b]

rkang dung bus phar rgyug tshur rgyug mang bar byas pas / nang pa'i grub thob bam yang na phyi pa'i ston pa bzang po cig la go nas phyag mang po btsal nas / bu ddha bha dra dha rma he ma ṇi bha la zer a tsa ra gzhan yang mang bar 'dus byung / sangs rgyas bzang po dam pa'i chos stsol zhes par go nas / rgya gar zur chag gi skad du 'di bshad / na ha cinra na ga zu na u tsi ma bhang la na tri shu pa nytsa bha dra bha dra 'dir 'ong dang / ga te ga te pra tam sang ha sa ri had shu hri na tsa ri ri e ho nan ya'i / la tsa na ya'i / sa ca ra ya'i / kang ka na ya'i / tri shu la na ya'i / dhu ni dha ra ha'i / shi ri dha ra dha ra ha'i / a yu dha ra ha'i / manga lam dha ra ha'i / bod skad du bsgyur na / klu grub zla ba'i lugs bzang / dbu ma'i lta ba rtogs pas / phyi nang stong pa'i rang bzhin la / mthu dang gnod pa 'brum brdungs pa la [29.b] sogs kyis mi tshugs pa 'di dga' ba la ang / skyid pa la ang / blo bde ba la ang / smon lam la ang / bsam pa'i don grub pa la ang / bsod nams la ang / dpal 'byor la ang / tshe ring ba la ang / bkra shis pa la ang byas pas / grong khyer de'i skor rnams dad par gyur to // ma ṇi'i phan yon las rgyu 'bras sogs kyi chos bshad / de nas phar la phyin rung bskal pa'i gshis kyis / mu stegs mangs pas grub rtags 'thon kyang (? phan) tshun zhen pa 'phel ba las mi yong bsam log yongs / swau [so so] gyis dang / rnal 'byor kun dga' legs pa ngas // ma phyin bya ba'i dgu cig phyin// lto gos 'phongs pa ma lags so // 'gro drug sams [pref. sems] can pra 'chal [pref. chal] tsho // blo yis ma bzod 'khyam du phyin // 'gro dad kha bas ltas ngan mthong // nyin gung nang la 'gro dran pas // chang gi nying khu rku dgos bsam // yo mal phyogs la phyin pas ni // a pha dang a ma byed pa mthong // a mas tshor nas / 'di skad zer // a pha byas pa ma mdzad dang // phru gu cig yong e go zer // a pha'i gsung nas kha 'tshum dang // phru gu mi dgos 'dre byung kyang // las ka 'di yi 'phro mi gcod // dus gsum sangs rgyas

[29.b-30.b]

dgrar laṇgs kyang // las ngan sdig pa'i gshol mi 'debs // thar pa'i go 'phangs thob zer kyang // 'khor ba'i sa bon sgrub rgyu yin // bden med sgyu ma yin nges kyang // bden par bzung nas gtong rgyu yin // rgyu 'bras phra la zhib lags kyang // [30.a] mi dge bcu la 'dzem rgyu med // 'gro drug pha ma yin lags kyang // gnod byed gnod lan 'jal rgyu yin // zhes zer 'phro la nang gi zhe me [pref. zhi mi] na re / sde'o khyad sde'o khyad sde'o // 'dod chags lan tshwa'i chu dang 'dra // spyad cing spyad cing spyod snying 'dod // spyad pas a pha'i mgo thom langs // a ma'i gsus khog phru gus khengs // khengs pas bu mad [pref. smad] stong rtsa byung // snabs lud 'bab rkyal ngu rtsed kha // rkub la dug tshal tshal tsam re // rked la dres thag 'khor gcig bcings // lag pa phor gog gzhogs ral thogs // kha nas bslang dang sbyin dang zer // ngu sgra rtse sgra sha ra ra // phyen dang rnyang ma sbrag se sbrag // mgo gcog bcag grum 'ur se 'ur // phye skur 'bri skad ldir se ldir // tshwa med tshod ma stong se stong // rdor med thug pa cal la la // sran ma'i ngar btags ya la la // sbang rul sings po na ra ra // sog ma'i bzhugs stan ra la la // rdo 'jong sngas ka ri li li // re tshal ban thag tsha la la // shig gi tshang rag sha ra ra // sro ma'i ga shal [pref. shel] nyi li li // sdug bsngal skad ngan lhang se lhang // 'bun pa'i sgo nyal khrig se khrig / hor 'dra'i gte 'don sha ra ra // khur shog khyer shog lhang se lhang // a tsa ma mi lus yi dwags dngos // tshe sngon bsod nams ma bsags pas // da lta sdug bsngal las la spyod // de bas ngan song sdug bsngal drag / mi lus lan gcig thob pa la / [30.b] dam chos mi byed ngo bo khyad // rkang pas lus po 'khyag dus su // bskor ba mi byed ngo bo khyad // lce yis bla log 'gyur dus su // ma ṇi mi 'dren ngo bo khyad // rig pa gsal la dangs dus su / mnyam par mi 'jog ngo bo khyad // 'od gsal bying rgod bral dus su // rgyun du mi 'jog ngo bo khyad // shugs 'byung spyod pa skyong dus su // tshul 'chos

[30.b-31.a]

spro ba ngo bo khyad // bsrung bral dam tshig gtsang dus su // rtag par mi bsrung ngo bo khyad // lhun grub 'bras bu'i sangs rgyas la // logs nas sgrub pa sa ma ya // zhes zer 'phro la khyim bya de po cig 'dug pa des // o ong e hong spro ba la ang // kha la za rgyu med pa la // rkub la 'don rgyu e hong //nub mo sbyar bas mi chog par // nyin mo nus pa'i snying rus e hong / / ston ka'i bsam blo mi gtong bar // dpyid ka len pa'i 'dod chen e hong // thug thal sran phye 'debs pa la // nyo chang rgyag pa'i blo lad e hong // rkub la gos thung med pa la // gri gog ring po'i zur 'dzug e hong // 'chi nus blo gshed [pref. shed] med pa la // rgya 'dre skyur 'gong kha po e hong // a ma rnams kyang e hong // gting nas sa thag chen po la // mgo bo brel po'i kha tshag e hong // skye bskos bshom ras ma grub pa'i // go kha'i mchongs stangs e hong // sems chung zas kyis ma bskyangs pa'i // khyer shog gyis shig las mkhos e hong // snga lan zas kyis ma bskyangs pa'i // [31.a] g.yar chug skyir chug kha rgod e hong // kha la sgo lcags ma rgyab pa'i // mi kha byams po'i sems 'dzin e hong // bu khyo lha bzhin ma khur ba'i // tshe smad skyid po'i go nyal e hong // lkog zas rgyu ngan ma spangs pa'i // nor gsog chen po'i byas yus e hong // sman shar rnams kyang e hong // tshe sngon me tog ma phul ba'i // skye 'bras legs po'i mchor gog e hong // a ma'i khong nas ma grub pa'i // ske rags dam po'i skye gzugs e hong // chung nas rkan mar ma byung ba'i // gdong la mar phyis mtshar zhad e hong // dkar 'grig so zhos ma grub pa'i // rnyil sngo 'dzum dkar gdong ngom e hong // dkar nag spri gas ma grub pa'i // mig log 'dra ba'i mig 'dzum e hong // phra sbom gnyen [pref. mnyen] gyong ma grub pa'i // ngu skad 'dra ba'i glu chung e hong // zem 'gros phyi ltas mi shes pa'i // rdig [pref. sdig] 'gros grib ma'i zur mig e hong // a kyang nyams dga' byas pa yin // stag shar rnams kyang e hong // chung nas yon tan ma bslabs pa'i // gtam lab yig rtsis rtsal

[31.a-32.a]

sna e hong // dpon po'i phyag phyir ma bsdad pa'i // drag mdog mgo mthong gtam 'dod e hong // pha yi byed lugs ma mthong ba'i // bu mad [pref. smad] mgo 'don skyong dran e hong // chung nas lus sbyongs ma byas pa'i // mda' kha dpa' rtsal 'dzom lo e hong // zur gsum thad kar ma bsdad pa'i // g.yul ngor dpa' ba'i dpa' bo e hong // gang sar rtog [31.b] pas ma bcug pa'i // rkang bro glu bzhas mkhas 'dod e hong // a kyang nyams dga' byas pa yin // btsun ma rnams kyang e hong // 'chi ba snying nas mi dran pa'i // dad pa mos gus byed lo e hong // snang ba so ma ma skyes pa'i // bya bral gzhon pa'i so dkar la // byi bo'i zhabs tog bde khyug e hong // gsol 'debs gtor ma mnyam gzhag sogs // nyin mtshan chos kyis mi 'da' ba'i // bal las sku mtshams dam po e hong // bsod nams phyag 'tshal mi nus pa'i // yur mi'i las kyi lto 'tshol e hong // dgon gnas spyil bsrung mi mdzad par // grong gseb thab kyi khur 'khur e hong // gting shag dril bu mi sil bar // li thur ga'u lde mig gis // mo mchor sil sil khrag khrog e hong // a kyang ci byed gang byed gyis // btsun pa rnams kyang e hong // rab byung dge tshul ma sgrubs pa'i // dkor phyir lhung bzed chab ril e hong // lkog tu phud bzhes 'khor mar bsten / / ngos su sing po chu bsres 'thung // srod la gsol zhib 'gam pa la // dgongs ja bu ram rung chu e hong // gshin po'i rgyun bzhugs mdzad mdzad nas // yugs sa mo dang bza' chas e hong // skyabs 'gro sems bskyed mi shes pa'i // mang ja'i thog la rgyug shar e hong // zlum khyer sgro theb mi mdzad par // gcus zhwa gzan gyi mjing dkris e hong // sku sham 'jol ka mi mdzad par // rgya brdzes ral gri'i rdzab shal [32.a] e hong // phyag la 'phreng ba mi bskor bar // lag shag dpung shag tshigs khebs e hong // 'jigs pa'i skyel ma mi mdzad par // 'phrang brdung 'thab mo'i las ka e hong // rgyang nas zhal 'dzum mi mdzad par // mig 'dzum bu mo'i mjing skyog e hong // phaṭ phaṭ da ni lhug par zhog // de 'dra bshad na mangs nas med // dge slong rnams kyang

[32.a-32.b]

e hong // spyi nor bang btab mdzod du sbed // rang nor thug thal sbyin len e hong // he he de ni sbos la zhog // 'tsho byed pa rnams kyang e hong // rgyud gzhung lag khrid ma byas pa'i // 'ol tshod sman sbyor lta chod e hong // phan sems snying rjes ma zin pa'i // btang [pref. gtang] rag sman rin za 'dod e hong // snyoms chung rtsa yul lta tsa na // hor skyags sna bkag zem rog e hong // bud med mdzes ma'i rtsa lta na // rkang lag sen gcus mtheb sgreng e hong // s kyang ku re yin thugs ma log // sprul sku lha bris pa rnams kyang e hong // tshugs dang thig tshad mi ldan pa'i // ya na yo na'i gzugs brnyan e hong // tshon mdangs spyan 'byed mi gsal ba'i // rgya tshos nag bla'i mdangs 'byed e hong // dge rtsa'i yon du mi bsam par // lha rer bre re'i 'gong [pref. gong] rgyag e hong // lha khang logs bris mi gso ba'i // lag dal thang sku'i khe tshong e hong // da rung kha 'chal sna tshogs yod // mi lab byas na 'ang lab snying 'dod // lham mkhan rnams kyang e hong // kha sha sha ba'i ko ba dang // gla ba'i yu ba ma grub pa'i // pal pal [32.b] ra lpags yu ba e hong // glang 'brong g.yag ko ma grub pa'i // ba ko skam po'i bse rangs e hong // bol yangs sna bde za kha dam // gyon pa mi 'dra byugs pa 'dra // gom pa rgyab tshe shug se shug // de 'dra'i lham 'debs mi shes par // gon pa'i dus su 'am gtsigs bsdams // 'gro dus kab tag kab tag zer // 'bud pa'i dus su ngu skad 'chor // bol mtheb mgo la chur kang rgyag // rting pa'i rma ral skyi bshus e hong // zhag gsum tshar ba'i dus byas pas / zla gsum tshig pa za rogs e hong // mthil chung rgyab kyang gang sprad chog / khag khyag los yong mi smra bar // rdog pa brang sgor tsam re la // mig re bre re'i 'gong [pref. gong] thang e hong // thugs la phog na bzod par bzhes // thags mkhan rnams kyang e hong // dang por snal thags bran dus su // mi gsum tshang rag byas byung kyang // rkub la shig za 'phrug long med // de min mi gcig kha phya re // bsgugs nas sdod dgos e hong //

[32.b-33.b]

de nas khri khar 'khyol dus su // rkang 'thag lag pa'i grangs ka e hong // sgrom bu rgyud thengs gsum gsum la // snal skud gcod thengs re re e hong // tshar ba'i dus cig byung tsa na // khrol ma tsha'u mig ra e hong // snam bu de'dra 'thag pa la / bre gog chen po'i thags gla e hong // da rung gsan dang 'dir tshogs rnams // dngul mgar ba rnams kyang e hong // shog bu las srab pa'i ga'u e hong // gla 'greng las gnyen [pref. mnyen] pa'i li thur e hong // khyag rum las khro [33.a] ba'i rtsa sdom e hong // rta rnga las phra ba'i rna rkang e hong // lung pa la med pa'i 'gong [pref. gong] rgyag e hong // lcags bzo pa rnams kyang e hong // rno med ngar med kyi gri chung e hong // gla ba tsher ma'i lcags thur e hong // zhun ma thongs pa'i gshol lcags e hong // yas blug mas 'dzag gi sgo lcags e hong // kha yo yu skyog gi lcags skyogs e hong // rdo 'jong sngon mo'i mas gzhi e hong // rkyal gog bsums pa'i sbud pa e hong // chu rdo sngon mo'i tho ba e hong // 'gron po'i yog pa'i nor gsog e hong // chang thab bzang po'i mgron shoms a [e] hong // mon pa rnams kyang e hong // jo bo la dad pa med pa la // thag ring tshong gi snying rus e hong // mon skyed dang 'bras dkar med pa la // ras dang shog bu'i phrag 'gel e hong // 'bras lcags sman dang bu ram sogs // nor nyan tshong zog med pa la // g.yer ma gza' ru'i zong bskor e hong // ya rabs bskor ba mi bskor ba'i// ma rabs gdug [pref. sdug] 'dre'i rkun ma e hong // dwags po rnams kyang e hong // pho 'bras rgyang glu rang bzhin bzang // de min lba ba'i khur tsa e hong // mar gyi dkar me med pa la // sprel kham a shu'i skyur ching e hong // star ga sgong kogs med pa la // mdzo mig khab kyis 'dru ba e hong // dwags phor cen chung [33.b] ma lags pa'i // skya phor gzar gog tshong zog e hong // leb stan thang gzhol ma lags pa'i // re tshal 'phyar sdug kha rul e hong // nags me'i shing dri ma lags pa'i // rngul dri shig gi kha zas e hong // kha nas rgyang glu mi rgyag pa'i //

[32.b-33.b]

de nas khri khar 'khyol dus su // rkang 'thag lag pa'i grangs ka e hong // sgrom bu rgyud thengs gsum gsum la // snal skud gcod thengs re re e hong // tshar ba'i dus cig byung tsa na // khrol ma tsha'u mig ra e hong // snam bu de'dra 'thag pa la / bre gog chen po'i thags gla e hong // da rung gsan dang 'dir tshogs rnams // dngul mgar ba rnams kyang e hong // shog bu las srab pa'i ga'u e hong // gla 'greng las gnyen [pref. mnyen] pa'i li thur e hong // khyag rum las khro [33.a] ba'i rtsa sdom e hong // rta rnga las phra ba'i rna rkang e hong // lung pa la med pa'i 'gong [pref. gong] rgyag e hong // lcags bzo pa rnams kyang e hong // rno med ngar med kyi gri chung e hong // gla ba tsher ma'i lcags thur e hong // zhun ma thongs pa'i gshol lcags e hong // yas blug mas 'dzag gi sgo lcags e hong // kha yo yu skyog gi lcags skyogs e hong // rdo 'jong sngon mo'i mas gzhi e hong // rkyal gog bsums pa'i sbud pa e hong // chu rdo sngon mo'i tho ba e hong // 'gron po'i yog pa'i nor gsog e hong // chang thab bzang po'i mgron shoms a [e] hong // mon pa rnams kyang e hong // jo bo la dad pa med pa la // thag ring tshong gi snying rus e hong // mon skyed dang 'bras dkar med pa la // ras dang shog bu'i phrag 'gel e hong // 'bras lcags sman dang bu ram sogs // nor nyan tshong zog med pa la // g.yer ma gza' ru'i zong bskor e hong // ya rabs bskor ba mi bskor ba'i// ma rabs gdug [pref. sdug] 'dre'i rkun ma e hong // dwags po rnams kyang e hong // pho 'bras rgyang glu rang bzhin bzang // de min lba ba'i khur tsa e hong // mar gyi dkar me med pa la // sprel kham a shu'i skyur ching e hong // star ga sgong kogs med pa la // mdzo mig khab kyis 'dru ba e hong // dwags phor cen chung [33.b] ma lags pa'i // skya phor gzar gog tshong zog e hong // leb stan thang gzhol ma lags pa'i // re tshal 'phyar sdug kha rul e hong // nags me'i shing dri ma lags pa'i // rngul dri shig gi kha zas e hong // kha nas rgyang glu mi rgyag pa'i //

rkub nas sbrag phyen mchor gog e hong // e pa rnams kyang e hong // gser gyis am sprag ma rgyangs pa'i // e skad lham sgrog tshong zog e hong // sha skam tshil lu ma lags pa'i // la ca [pref. cha] chang rtsi'i skyos ma e hong // gser sbram thig po ma lags pa'i // ra gan zangs kyi lcog gzhu e hong // kong po rnams kyang e hong // mda' dang 'dzing kha rtsal med pa'i // 'khor gsum khrog khrog kong skad e hong // rta dang ja sig [pref. sigs] tshong med pa'i // phor ltang 'od ma kong ja e hong // dbyangs rta'i rta pho mi 'chud pa'i // ra bzi'i oṁ bzang ma ṇi e hong // mda' re mi re mi brje ba'i // kha po chen po'i mda' rgyag e hong // btang 'gro bzhag sdod mi byed pa'i // kag rang kog rang khrims med e hong // mo gos ljang khra mi ster ba'i // phye phor bsdus pa'i byi rin e hong // a kyang nyams dga' byas pa yin // dbus stod pa rnams kyang e hong // dkar me tshag sha ma khyer ba'i // re'u chung sha zug phrag 'gel e hong // snum ban mar rkyal ma khur ba'i // go snyod spang khobs tshong zog e hong // chur phye gser mdog ma khyer ba'i // ba tshwa shi sha tshong pa e hong // khams pa rnams kyang e hong // dngul dang gla rtsi gser med pa'i // sle'u tshal gla lpags [34.a] rlid bu e hong // khams gri rgun 'brum ma khyer ba'i // me lcags sog po'i khab rnams e hong // zhogs pa snga mo'i rtsam slong e hong // padme hūṁ gi ma ṇi e hong // sbyin pas mi chog klan ka e hong // yod kyang slong ba'i sprang snyogs e hong // rgya mi a mdo ba rnams kyang e hong // ja 'gyed dar 'gyed mi gtong ba'i // 'du khang sar pa'i sgo dgags e hong // dar gos dngos spyad [pref. chas] med pa yi // dri ngan rgya 'dre'i nor rdzongs e hong // drung mchod gnas pa rnams kyang e hong // gsal dag snyan gsum mi ldan pa'i // smra ri shu ri'i smod mo e hong // gnas mo 'khris la byung tsa na // yong mdog kha po'i klog skad e hong // bzhugs gdan mnan nas mi bzhugs pa'i // khyi zan chos 'gom rgyug shar e hong // nam la thugs dam mi mdzad par // yab yum sbyor ba'i a nyan e hong // rang

[34.a-34.b]

tshugs bzung nas mi bzhugs par // zhal ta ma la sen gcus e hong // gzhis bsrung spyan g.yar mi mdzad par // phyag mdzod sbug la gzhig 'jug e hong // bcol ba'i mchod gnas mi mdzad par // ma bcol las ka'i mkhos shom e hong // a khu btsun pa rnams kyang e ho [hong] // gnas gzhi dgon pa'i mchod zhing la / / dkor gyi bsam blo mi gtong bar // nam la srus kyi 'thog krabs e hong // lcogs po tshar ma'i byin rlabs e hong // snye phung las kyang snye thun mang // 'ongs phung las kyang sbum phug mang // g.yog po las [34.b] kyang byar ba mang // sngo tshod la phug rgya ri e hong // 'ongs bgod a pha'i skyur 'gong dang // gnas mo'i 'ongs phung 'og 'brad e hong // gad mo med pa'i ldan shig dang // de ka byas kyi bu lon e hong // skye stong phrag bkal 'ded pa dang // bu mad [pref. smad] mang po'i tsi sgra e hong // yang cig gsan dang 'di ltar yod // bya pho ngas ma bsdad bya pho ngas phyin // bya pho ngas chos 'khor lha sar phyin // dbus gtsang 'dzam gling mi rnams 'dug // rgya gar pa rnams kyang e hong // nang pa'i grub rtags mi thon pa'i // he ru ka yi chos sprod dang // phyi pa'i ngan sngags mi shes pa'i // ha ra hu re'i mthu skad e hong // sbyin bsreg mthu las mi shes pa'i // phu sdir [pref. ldir] sdigs mdzub lta stangs e hong // rkyal khog phu 'debs mi shes pa'i // phrang [pref. 'phrang] la btsar 'gros blos longs e hong // bzang drug spos shel ma khyer ba'i // 'gron bu 'jag 'bru'i tshong zog e hong // rgya skad bod skad mi shes pa'i // pa ra pu re'i gshis nyes e hong // bal po rnams kyang e hong // rang byon lha sku'i gzugs bzang dang // sil snyan li ting mchod cha dang // bzo sna bco brgyad mi shes pa'i // lder bzo ga'u rtsa sdom e hong // mgyogs la tshar skyen mi byed par // lto phyir nyi ma gang phyed e hong // da bon blo chos la mi dkar ba'i // bag ma'i 'bul g.yog e hong // mnga' ris pa yang e hong // phyi ru spos shel gser sgem dang // kha che li shi rgya tshwa sogs // med pa'i rdo rgyus tshong zog e hong // ci sprad mi len mgo mkhregs e hong // [35.a] sna thung kham gshis pos tol e hong // gtsang pa rnams kyang e hong // lcags dang 'jag ma snam bu sogs // tshong zog mi ldan gtsang skad e hong // phal rtags g.yer ma'i spri ya e hong // gzan snam 'phral ba'i nyo chang e hong // do lo sngon mo'i g.yu tshar e hong // 'dam ril la ca [pref. cha]' tshong skad e hong // rang la gos thung mad [med] pa la // bag ma'i ske la spos shel e hong // lho kha pa rnams kyang e hong // chu 'thab mi bsad yul don e hong // sbang ma'i ngar btags gshos bu e hong // bya chung skam bsregs gsol rgyar e hong // khyen cha 'an ci'i lab lab e hong // ko thod bag ma'i mchor mgron e hong // dpon yig rnams kyang e hong // ka kha ga nga tsho mgo brnyan 'dra // ca cha ja nya tsho gza' ru 'dra // ta tha da na tsho zhud rta 'dra // pa pha ba ma tsho gyang ra 'dra // tsa tsha dza wa sogs gze ma 'dra // zha za 'a ya rnams dug chal 'dra // ra la sha sa tsho thag chal 'dra // ha a gnyis po blud [pref. glud] gzugs 'dra // de 'dra'i drung yig chen mo ba // mdangs med sol ba'i snag tsha e hong // gzhu chag spen ma'i smyu gu e hong // chos shog gshags pa'i shog bu e hong // za ra ai ra'i mkyogs [pref. mgyogs] bris e hong // sdebs ma dag pa'i sgrig tshom e hong // ra la ra mgo btags pa e hong / / pa la ha btags dpon yig e hong // ka 'og ces pa'i phul byed e hong // a ce bal ma rnams kyang e hong // bong rgyug lta bu'i [35.b] snal ma la // sha za 'dra ba'i sos 'brad e hong // thog bsdad mtheb mo'i sgrim skad e hong // sog phon 'dra ba'i mon gos e hong // bong mje 'dra ba'i zhud phud e hong // mi gcig rkang btsugs zhud g.yog e hong // sa pa so pe'i gru gu e hong // re tshal 'dra ba'i snam bu e hong // de la sogs pa mangs nas med // ja rlung langs nas smras pa yin // chang gis bzi nas sgrogs [pref. bsgrags] pa yin // bya pho'i lab 'phros bshad pa yin // swau [so so] gyis dang / yod nas za mi nus pa tsho'i kha la thal ba rang 'thob // med nas za snying

[35.b-36.a]

'dod pa tsho'i kha la thal ba rang 'thob // bos pas mi khugs mgron po tsho'i kha la thal ba rang 'thob // ma bos ltogs lha can mgron po tsho'i kha la thal ba rang 'thob // gsar 'grogs can lha sa gnas mo'i kha la thal ba rang 'thob // khyab blo zog po bla ma'i kha la thal ba rang 'thob // dga' ba la ang gyis dang // mi lus thob pa 'di rang gyis dang // sdug pa la ang gyis dang // dam chos med pa 'di rang gyis dang // skyo ba la ang gyis dang // dmyal bar 'gro dgos pa 'di rang gyis dang // spro ba la ang gyis dang // ma ṇi grangs chog pa 'di rang gyis dang // he 'dzum bkra shis // ang gi rgya sde'i khrom pa tsho // phugs kyi blo sna chos la bsgyur // phral la phan pa'i skad cha yod // go ba rnams kyi chos skal mdzod // ma go ba rnams kyi sgrung glu mdzod // rgan 'khogs rnams kyi skyo grogs mdzod // mi gzhon rnams kyi nyams 'char mdzod // bu mo rnams kyi sems rten mdzod // byis [36.a] pa rnams kyi rtsed grogs mdzod //

* * *

Part V

GLOSSARY

Items listed in this glossary are those not cited in the most readily available dictionaries of Jäschke, Das, and Stuart Buck. A few of the following entries are found in these sources, but under different spellings. The useful dictionaries by Dge-bshes chos-grags, Brda'-dag ming tshig gsal-ba, and by L.S. Dagyab, Bod brda'i tshig mdzod, have been consulted throughout this project, but as these are probably available to most students I have not generally listed forms attested only by them. It will be noted that the majority of definitions was supplied by my informants on the basis of a single occurrence of a word. Revisions or amplifications will undoubtedly become necessary in some instances. My principal informants were Sde-gzhung rin-po-che (R.), Nawang Nornang (N.), and Zur-khang Zhabs-pad (S.). I was unable, unfortunately, to secure the aid of a native Bhutanese.

kab-tag kab-tag - descriptive of the unpleasant sound of boots on the ground. Cp. Das, s.v. krab-krab.

ko-mog - puddle or depression in the ground (R.)

dkar-chu - refers to the three milk products zho "curds," 'o-ma "milk," and dar-ba "buttermilk" (R.)

skag-sken - trivia, odds and ends (N.)

skya-ba - a wooden spatula (N.)

skya-'bab-be-ba - whitish (N.)

skyag-mkhos - ability, capability (R.)

skyir-ba - to loan, lend (R.)

skyu-'jog - two different informants identified this as a kind of milk curd. N. suggested an emendation to skyur-'dzog, which he defined as "buttermilk." Neither word appears to be common.

kha skyeng-ba - to draw in the breath, gasp out of fear or embarrassment, etc. (R.)

kha-rgod - insistent, obnoxiously persistent (S.)

kha-'tshag-ma - a harping, abusive woman (R.); cp. Das, s.v. kha 'tshog

kha-ral - toothlessness, the falling out of one's teeth (R.)

khal-le - probably related to 'gel-ba, "to load, cover." The phrase rdul-khal-le has the meaning "covered with dust." (N.)

khyag-chas - cold weather garments (N.)

khyag-pa - to hold up, support, cradle (R.); cp. Das, s.v. khyag-pa II

khyams khra mthil - appears to be equivalent to khyams "courtyard" (N.)

khrig-se-khrig - descriptive of the sound of pounding or beating; cp. Das, s.v. khrig-gi

khrul-le - dripping(ly) (R.)

khro-ba - equivalent to khrol-mo "brittle" (R.)

khrog-khrog - bragging, boasting (R.); cp. Goldstein & Nornang, Modern Spoken Tibetan, p. 380, where they give "show off"

'khar-rgyug - crutches, a walking stick (R.)

'khyil-li-li - descriptive of whirling, violent movement (R.)

gal-te - a saddle-bag, packsack divided into two compartments (N., R.)

go-kha - an unmarried girl of marriageable age (R.)

go nyal - relaxation (S.)

go-dong - said to be a Gtsang dialectical word, meaning a low spot or chuck hole, washed out by water (N.)

go-yog - a poker (N.); cp. Das, s.v. yog-po

gor-rgas-ma - the meaning "old maid" was supplied by two informants, but I suspect that it may be more complex. I was unable to determine whether some gor-rgas-ma had ever borne children or not (N.,R.)

gyang-gog - the ruins of an old house (Chos-grags)

gyong-krad - a "stiff thong," a tough, obstinate person (N.)

grum phad - a type of large knapsack (R.)

glum - same as sbang-glum, q.v.

dga'-spro - a festival, celebration (R.)

dgug-sdod-pa - servant, orderly (R.)

mgo-gcog - a flick or jerk of the head (R.)

rgya-ri - a portion of meat (Jäschke); a dish or course, as for example in a "seven course dinner"

rgyang-glu - lit. "distant song." A song sung to someone leaving or approaching from a distance, hence, a song of farewell or welcome (R.)

rgyug-pa - a wooden stick (N.)

sge-mo - a type of bag (Rintchen); cp. Jäschke, s.v. sgye-mo

sgong-kogs - nut meat (R.)

ngar btags-pa - mashed up, macerated (S.)

nged rang (rnams) - you (plural) in Gtsang dialect (S.)

sngo khrol-le - "bluish;" said to be the natural color of water (R.)

cal-la-la - a descriptive term, implying mediocrity, blandness (R.)

bcag-grum - destruction, breakage (R.)

lcog-gzhu - equivalent to rmog "helmet" (R.)

cha-ram-ram-pa - "conforming with," "appropriate in size to" (N.)

chags-sgo - equivalent to bar chad "obstacle" (R.)

chang-khog - broad-mouth pot used to cook the barley for making beer, "brew-pot" (N.)

chang gis spar-ba - intoxicated with beer (R.)

chang 'thung rgyag-pa - "to carouse"; distinct from chang 'thung-ba, meaning simply "to drink beer" (N.)

chang-rtsi - "beer starter"; often inaccurately translated as "yeast." Chang-rtsi normally is made from sbang-glum (q.v.), formed into small patties and dried. It contains both yeast and mold spores.

chang 'tshod snyol-ba - phrase meaning "to brew a batch of beer"; 'tshod refers to the cooking of the barley, snyol-ba to the fermenting.

chams-se-chams - descriptive term implying "perpetual," "continual" (R.) cp. Das, s.v. cham-du

chur-kang - R. suggests that this word is probably the same as chu-bur or chu-gang, both meaning "blister"

chong-se chong-se - descriptive term implying "fastness," "tightly grasping" (R.); cp. Das, s.v. 'chong-ba

mchu-shwa - a hair lip (N.)

nyang-phrug - a small clay jar (R.)

nyab nyab byed-pa - to snatch out with the hands (R.)

nyams can - confident (N.)

nyi-li-li - descriptive term expressive of trickling, scurrying, etc.; cp. Das, s.v. nyil byed-pa

nyung-rdog - a kind of raddish or turnip (R.); cp. Das, s.v. nyung-ma

nyo-chang - lit. "buying beer"; has the implication of "carousing." Buying beer is the exception in Tibet, rather than the rule, where most families make their own. A person, typically a husband, who is fond of nyo chang, wastes the family money by buying (nyo) beer (chang); there is also said to be the connotation that he spends money on the chang-ma or "beer girl," who are often regarded as loose women or prostitutes (N., R.)

nyog khyad - probably equivalent to nyag-nyog, a term used in some dialects in addressing women or children. It has the sense of endearing condescention, such as "o confused one", "o little one"

rnyil-sngo - the gums of the teeth (R.); c.p. Das, s.v. *rnyil*

snying rku-ba - lit. "to steal the heart," to betray (N.)

(b)snyol-ba, *nyol-ba*, *nyal-ba* - no exact English equivalent. The general meaning is to "bed down," "put to bed," and is used with respect to children. It has the implied sense of "to keep warm." In brewing, it means keeping the *sbang-glum* (q.v.) warm, covered, and undistrubed while the *phabs* (q.v.) is fermenting

gtam-'dod - overbearing (S.)

(g)ting-shag - a pair of small, thick cymbols of bell metal (*li*) which produce an intense ring when struck together on the edge. These are used in ritual (R.)

stag-shar - a warrior, fighter; a virile young man, in some dialects; the female equivalent is *sman-shar* (R.)

stug-chas - lit. "garment of filth," e.g. diapers; also used to mean anything which is filthy or disgusting, a thing of disgust (R.)

stong-se-stong - descriptive term said to suggest "blandness" (R.)

tha-le thu-le - mixed up, confused, "scatterbrained" (N.)

thugs la btags - equivalent to *thugs-rje che*, a common colloquial form for "thank you" (R.)

mthu-ba - fierce, ferocious (of dogs, etc.) (N.)

dag - a colloquial variant for de, "the," "that" (R.)

dam-pe - a small pot, especially used for drinking beer (R.)

dung-so - lit. "conch teeth," refers to extra teeth which appear out of the upper gums, especially between the two front teeth. These are said to be a sign of goodness and virtue.

dus min - untimely, too soon, prematurely; improper to one's status (R.)

do-lo - a blue stone reslembling turquoise; perhaps chrysocolla (N.)

drag-mdog - courage (R.)

dran rgya che-ba - great notoriety, reknown (R.)

gdong len byed-pa - to struggle with, contend with (Dagyab)

bde-khyug - wiggle, squirm, sensuous walk (R.)

mda'-kha mdung-kha - "at arms," "at sword's point" (R.)

mda'-stag - a warrior, fighter (R.)

mdog-kha-po (~ *-ba*) - a colloquial form modifying verbs and adjectives, having the sense "as if," "it seems that..."; This affix is very common in modern colloquial usage, but rare in written texts; cf. Goldstein & Nornang, *Modern Spoken Tibetan: Lhasa Dialect*, p. 133

'doms-sprag - crotch, pubic region; probably related to *'doms sba-ba* (id.) (N.)

rdog-rdo - a kick, Gtsang dialect (S.)

rdor - a term for the meat included in a stew or soup; not used otherwise (R.)

ldan-sngu - the front of a garment, the chest area (R.)

ldir-se-ldir - descriptive term suggesting wailing, crying; cp. Stein, *L'Épopée Tibétaine de Gesar*, p. 397, s.v. *dir-dir*

(b)rdal-phyar - a combination of *phyar-ba* and *rdal-ba*~*bdal-ba*. *Phyar-ba* is said by my informants to mean a large, thick yak-hair rug, probably of the type referred to by Combe, *A Tibetan on Tibet*, pp. 133-134. Also, cp. Buck, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, s.v. *phyar-po-che* "large yak-hair tent." *Rdal-ba* means to "spread out." The combined form *(b)rdal-phyar* "spreading rug" is still in current colloquial use, referring to the apparatus on which the cooked barley is spread to cool

when making beer. Modern Sikkimese, I am told, often use plastic sheets for this purpose, but still refer to them as (b)rdal-phyar

dha-ka dhi-ka - stuttering; a stutterer (N.)

na-kha - same as ko-mog, q.v. (R.)

na-ra-ra - descriptive term expressive of continuous flow; cp. Das, s.v. nar-nar

nag-chang - abbreviation of nag-mo dang chang "women and beer"; the Tibetan equivalent of "wine, women, and song" (R.)

nam la nyag-pa'i dus - explained as a poetic word meaning Autumn; I am uncertain of the force of nyag-pa in the phrase (R.)

rna-ba rngog-pa - to dig into or pick at one's ear with a finger (R.)

sna-bkag - an oath or promise (S.)

sna-zin spu-zin - a bit here, a bit there; randomly (N.)

snang-ba so-ma - innocence, a "fresh outlook" (R.)

pa-ra pu-re - broken, halting (of speech) (R.)

pal-pal - same as bal-bal, q.v. (S.)

spyis-tshis - contientiousness, farsightedness (R.)

sprang snyogs khyer-ba - to live off of begging; a colloquial phrase with usually a perjorative sense (N.)

phabs - see chang-rtsi

phi - a dialectical form of pha-gi, the demonstrative pronoun of further relationship (N.)

phra-le phrul-le - dangling, danglingly (N.)

'pher-ba - to have a knack or natural aptitude for something (N.)

'pher-yong - worldly aptitudes, wisdom in the way of the world (N.)

'phong-ra - a public gathering place (R.)

ba-lo - locks of hair (identified by N. as Lho dialect) ban-thag - a load, a pack for animals; the cord which holds it on, a cinch (N.)

bal-bal - a colloquial form equivalent to be'u "calf" (S.)

bu-khyo - husband (S.)

bya-ru-kha - a chin beard (N.)

byag - a variant or erroneous spelling of jag "robbery" (N.)

byab-lo - seductive speech (R.)

byar-ba - equivalent to bya-ra-ba "overseer" (N.)

byar med lhug-pa - directly, bluntly, without poetic words (N.)

byis-phrug - a baby, especially an illicit one (N.)

bye-sag - "rather large grains of sand" (N.)

bra-khur - a type of buckwheat pancake (R.)

'bar-zhwa - a kind of hat, shaped like a witch's or dunce's hat (R.)

'bun-pa - the loaner of goods or money; a lender (R.)

sbang-glum - barley mash to which chang-rtsi has been added and which has begun to ferment (N.)

sbang-ma - the dregs at the bottom of a batch of beer, either cooked for food or thrown out to the animals. Sbang-ma is not eaten much by Tibetans. Sbang-glum, however, is mixed with drawn butter and is a favorite, tasty treat called a-glum mar-khu (N.)

sbu-sbu - represents the sound of a thigh-bone trumpet blown slowly and in low tone (N.)

sbrag-se-sbrag - descriptive term, probably onomatopoetic, representing the sound of flatulence, a farting sound(R.)

mi-the dgu-the - interfering in everything, meddling (N.); cp. Das, s.v. the-ba

mig-bcar - blind (N.)

dmigs rnam dod - new-fashioned, unusual, unique (N.)

sman-chung - a young girl (colloquial) (R.)

sman-shar - a young lady (colloquial) (R.)

smra-ri shu-ri - a mumbling or indistinct muttering (R.)

btsog-gtam - filthy language, profanity; dirty story (N.)

rtse-sgra - a creaking noise (S.); a rasping, high-pitched laugh (R.); (? ~ rtsi-sgra)

tsha-la-la - descriptive term representative of fraying, unravelling (R.); cp. Das, s.v. tshal-pa

mtshan-nyid-pa - "the name of one who has mastered the hearing (thos), and contemplation (bsam) of the canonical works on logic, Mādhyamika, Prajñāpāramitā, Vinaya, and Abhidharma" (R.); significantly, the mtshan-nyid-pa need have no particular skill in meditation (sgom). This definition should correct that of Das, who followed Jäschke. The term therefore means "academician," or "scholar" of religious subjects; it is not the name of a "metaphysical school of Buddhism"

'tshangs 'gro-ba - to force, to do with force (R.)

'dzum-mul-le-ba - smilingly; elegantly, charmingly, with specific reference to the face and head (N.)

wa dmar-po - lit. "red fox"; a pejorative term used to refer to the boy servants of a lord or administrator. Surkhang says that the term derives from the color of the robes that they wear

zhi-dul - calm and disciplined, especially of behavior (Dagyab)

zhib-ma - a large bamboo mat with sides, used for winnowing barley; often used in place of a (b)rdal-phyar, q.v.

bzhugs-stan-'jags-ma - a Tibetan pillow of a certain specific size and shape (N.)

za-ri zi-ri - not clear, confused; cf. Das, s.v. za-zi 2.

zab-zab gzigs-gzigs - a colloquial expression meaning royal or honored treatment, great esteem, etc. (R.)

zem-'gros - gracefulness, graceful behavior (especially of women) (R.)

gzer-ba - to insert something, e.g. a knife into a belt loop (R.)

'an-ci'i - a lho dialectical word, the equivalent of the emphatic a'u-tsi "wow!," "what a...! " (S.)

'am-gtsigs - a wince (R.); cp. Das, s.v. gtsigs-pa

'ur-se-'ur - descriptive term expressive of loud, continuous noises (R.); cp. Stein, L'Épopée Tibétaine de Gesar, p. 398, s.v. 'u-ru-ru

ya-na yo-na - crooked, twisted out of shape (R.); cp. Jäschke, s.v. ya-yo

ya-la-la - descriptive term representing the screwing up of the face because of eating something of bad taste(R.)

yab yab byed-pa - to wave about (R.)

yar-rdeb mar-rdeb gtong-ba - lit. "to build up, build down"; used to refer to the sowing of malicious gossip, e.g. telling two different people that the other one has done some evil thing (R.)

yur-nyung - popcorn (R.)

yo-mal - bedroom (R.)

g.yag-g.yog - servants (N.)

g.yu-tshar - turquoise and fabric pendants worn by women (R.)

ra-la-la - descriptive term expressing the process of wearing out or falling apart; cp. Das, s.v. ral-ba

ri-li-li - descriptive term expressive of rolling movement (R.); cp. Das, s.v. ril-ba

rung-chu - lit. "permitted water"; refers to the water which alone may be drunk by monks when fasting or when otherwise bound by vows (R.)

re-tshal - an inferior type of *snam-bu*,very rough in texture and used in rugs (R.)

re'u - "kid," equivalent to *ra-phrug* (S.)

lag sag-po - stingy, miserly (N.)

lang-ma long-ma - messy, disorganized (R.)

sha-ra-ra - descriptive term expressing a rushing or thundering noise (R.)

shug(s)-se-shug(s) - descriptive term expressive of the sound of shoes or boots on the floor, "slip-slap"; cf. Snyder, "Tshig Kyag, a Tibetan Alternate Song Competition," p. 97; cp. Das, s.v. *shug* 4.

sho-thab sho-thab - descriptive term expressive of the sound of boots on the floor (N.)

gshin-po'i rgyun bzhugs - a funeral ceremony or gathering (R.)

si-li-li - descriptive term expressing the sound of dripping water or rain (R.); cp. Das, s.v. *sil-ba*

sing-po nar-po - a Gtsang dialectical word for *sings-po*, meaning "weak beer," a third or fourth infusion; more under *bsings-pa*, q.v.

sil-sil khrag-khrog - descriptive term expressive of tinkling and jingling (R.)

sil-sil sprug-sprug - descriptive term expressing a squeaking sound (N.)

su-rub mu-rub - all at once, in a flurry (N.)

sur-ba - to poke (unidentified regional dialect) (R.)

sen-gcus - a pinch (R.)

sems-chung - lit. "little mind"; term for servants (N.)

gsal-la-la - descriptive term expressing clearness, brilliance (R.)

bsings-pa, *sings-po* - *bsings-pa* means the adding of water to *sbang-glum* (q.v.) in a large vessel, "to infuse." It is also used to mean "tapping" or "drawing off" the finished beer. *Sings-po* is a nominal form meaning "infusion." It has taken on the connotation, however, of second or third infusion, hence "weak beer" or "small beer" (N.)

bse-rangs - the part of a shoe which actually surrounds the foot, the vamp (R., S.)

ha-mo che - baggy (N.)

ha-ra hu-re - impetuous, violent (Jäschke)

har-ma hor-ma - randomly, without plan (N.)

hod-hod tshag-tshag tsag-tsag - descriptive of the sound of a thigh-bone trumpet when blown rapidly and at a high pitch (N.)

hor-'dra - "a man assigned by the government to collect taxes" (Chos-grags); actually, the hor-'dra (lit. "Mongol-like") performs many other functions for a noble or administrator, where a forceful appearance is called for (S.); it has a derived implication of "bandit"

hri-li-li - descriptive term expressive of rolling up, rolling together (R.)

lhang-se-lhang - descriptive term expressive of high-pitched crying or wailing (R.); cp. Stein, L'Épopée Tibétaine de Gesar, p. 399, s.v. lhangs-se-lhangs

a shes - a colloquial variant of e shes "do you know?" (R.)

ang-rag - equivalent to ang-'ga-rag, ang-ras, a kind of pants (N.)

ab-bsod - poetic equivalent of bsod-nams "merit" (R.)

Part VI

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